The AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

A Quarterly

Vol. LXV, No. 1 *October, 1959*

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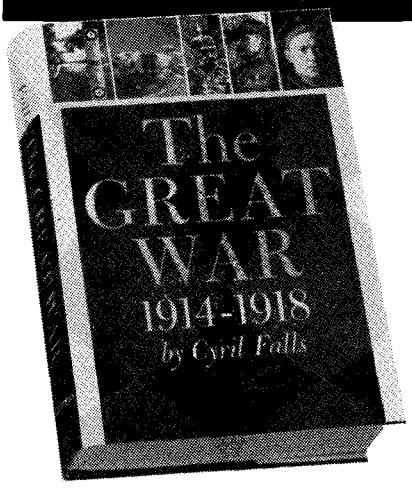
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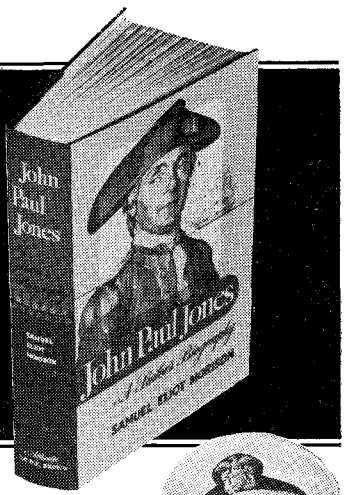
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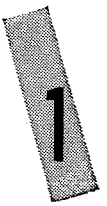
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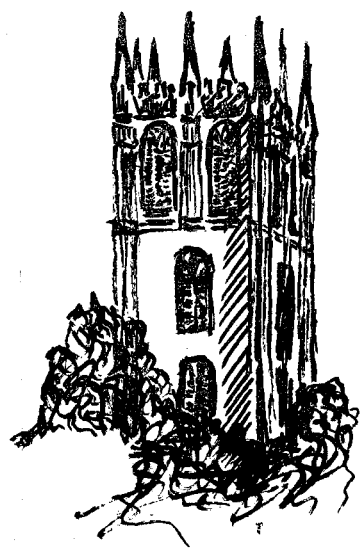
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The
AMERICAN
HISTORICAL
REVIEW

Vol. LXV, No. 1 *October, 1959*

The Introduction of Industrialists into the British Peerage: A Study in Adaptation of a Social Institution

RALPH E. PUMPHREY*

"TO create a peer is to invest a line of men with irresponsible power over the Legislature for, it may be, half a dozen centuries. . . . Such an act is important, we might almost call it solemn."[1] The Parliament Act of 1911 placed definite limits upon the legislative powers of the House of Lords. It was a logical sequel to three reforms of the House of Commons which had brought that body into closer conformity with the composition and spirit of the country. The House of Lords had remained an essentially hereditary institution and, as such, was too little responsive to changes in the political climate of the nation.

Did this mean that the peerage, from which most of the members of the

* Mr. Pumphrey, associate professor in the George Warren Brown School of Social Work at Washington University, St. Louis, and author of "Social Work and National Defense" in *Social Work Yearbook, 1954* (New York, 1954), is especially interested in the history of social welfare.

[1] London *Times*, Aug. 2, 1856, quoted from the Manchester *Examiner*.

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House of Lords were drawn, had been totally unaffected by the changes in the life of the nation during the nineteenth century? Since 1911 Labour peers have been created with a minimum of either wealth or family connections, while other new peers possessing substantial wealth have been "self-made" men from industry and commerce. Much of the pamphleteering literature that preceeded the 1911 reform referred in opprobrium to "Beer Barons,"[2] indicating that at that time, in the popular mind at least, the nobility was no longer exclusively a landed aristocracy. How valid was such an impression, and to what extent did it arise from the introduction of new families, reflecting the newer bases of economic and social prestige?

Actually, the English nobility had never been a closed caste. The feudal nobility based on military power and prestige became a landed aristocracy transmitting estates, titles, and political power through a system of primogeniture. While death without heirs terminated some lines, others were constantly being started by the exercise of the sovereign's prerogative to summon whom he chose to sit as members of the House of Lords. To be so summoned had always represented the ultimate in upgrading of social status attainable by most Englishmen. Although some people tried to endow all noble families with feudal or aristocratic beginnings, it had long been common knowledge, as Samuel Smiles was quick to point out, that some of these lines had originated with persons who had acquired commercial or industrial wealth, invested heavily in land, and, in two or three generations through marriage and politics, become integrated into the landed gentry.[3]

By the twentieth century this process of gradual assimilation over a period of generations has been so foreshortened for some individuals that they can

[2] The origin of this term is not clear. As early as 1851 Sir John Cam Hobhouse, second Bart., a partner in Whitbread and Company, London brewers, received a peerage as Baron Broughton. G. E. C. [George Edward Cokayne], *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland . . .*, ed. Hon. Vicary Gibbs (new ed., 13 vols., London, 1910–53), II, 343–44. Hereafter cited as *CP*. It seems likely, however, that the use of the term was stimulated by the granting of several later titles, namely, Sir Arthur Guinness, second Bart., and his brother Sir Edward Guinness, first Bart., Dublin brewers, respectively created Baron Ardilaun in 1880 (*ibid.*, I, 194–95) and Baron Iveagh in 1891 (*ibid.*, VII, 78–79); also Sir Henry Allsopp, first Bart., and Sir Michael Bass, first Bart., rival brewers of Burton-on-Trent, in 1886 created Baron Hindlip (*ibid.*, VI, 525–26) and Baron Burton (*ibid.*, II, 439–40), respectively.

[3] Samuel Smiles, *Self-Help; with Illustrations of Character, Conduct, and Perseverence* (rev. ed., Boston, n.d.), 232–52. In this chapter on "Industry and the Peerage," as elsewhere, Smiles equates "industry" with the personal characteristics of hard work and perseverence rather than with particular forms of the production of goods, and is concerned to show that by the application of these characteristics persons of low estate could rise to the highest ranks. Except for members of the legal and military professions, none of the persons he cites achieved the peerage themselves, but they established the fortunes on which their descendents ascended the social scale. Among the nonlegal or military peerages mentioned, only those of Lords Overstone and Belper were contemporary examples (see *infra*, fns. 16–19). Nearly all the rest were created between 1600 and 1750. This correlates closely with Habakkuk's argument that the movement of the merchant class to buy land in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries contributed to the strains producing the Civil War. H. J. Habakkuk, "English Landownership, 1680–1740," *Economic History Review*, X (Feb., 1940), 2–17.

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complete at least its formal aspects in their own lifetimes. Much of this foreshortening took place during the long reign of Queen Victoria. It is our purpose here to review some of the considerations affecting the creation of peerages during the period of nearly seventy-five years from the accession of Victoria in 1837 to the end of 1911, the year that saw the capitulation of the Lords as well as the coronation of George V. Particularly, the family backgrounds and careers of the 463 individuals who received new titles of nobility during these seventy-five years[4] are examined in order to clarify this aspect of the responsiveness of the nobility to the changing times.

Many influences affected the granting of titles. Nearly all fall into one of three groups: the requirements of the House of Lords for new members to carry out its constitutional functions; the impulse to give national recognition to great men; and the exigencies of partisan politics.

The House of Lords in the nineteenth century was still a vital participant in the legislative and judicial processes of the Empire. Individuals with special talents in government, business, and forensics were needed to carry on its essential political functions. Especially as the court of final appeal, for the dominions and colonies as well as for Great Britain, the House of Lords required a constant replenishment from among the ablest lawyers and judges of the nation. But the legal profession traditionally had been an open one that provided opportunity, however circumscribed, for social advancement. The limited number of persons of middle- or lower-class backgrounds receiving peerages primarily for their judicial ability during the period studied would hardly have created a popular sense of institutional change.[5]

The granting of a peerage also represented the traditional method by which a grateful sovereign recognized outstanding contributions to the national welfare by statesmen, military leaders, and others. Diplomacy, the

[4] Of these, twenty-eight received titles on two occasions, and three received titles on three occasions during the period studied. A total of 497 titles were thus received by the 463 individuals, apart from inherited titles or ones received prior to or following the period studied. Titles of nobility included are duke, marquess, earl, viscount, and baron. Baronet, though hereditary, is not included in this study because it does not confer any right to a seat in the House of Lords. For a more complete discussion of the subject of this article, see the author's unpublished doctoral dissertation "The Creation of Peerages in England, 1837–1911," Yale University, 1934, which includes an appendix with annotated biographical data on each of the peerage recipients. Data about individual peers, here not otherwise annotated, was taken from obituaries in the London *Times* or from *CP*.

[5] In all, fifty-four "law lords" received sixty-one titles during the period studied. Of these, fifteen were lord chancellors and sixteen were lords of appeal in ordinary (life peers under legislation first enacted in 1876). The majority came from the gentry, but twenty, or three-eights, came from commercial or professional backgrounds. Included in the latter group were such eminent jurists as Lord St. Leonards, whose father was a hairdresser (an example cited by Smiles); Lord Romilly, the son of Sir Samuel Romilly, member of a Huguenot merchant family; and Lord Robertson, the son of a Scottish parish minister. The Romilly family was cited as an example "of the facility with which persons of foreign extraction in one or two generations can work their way into the foremost ranks of society." London *Times*, Dec. 24, 1874.

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army, and the navy had all been, like the law, favorite occupations of scions of the landed gentry and nobility, but had never been reserved exclusively for members of those classes. Hence it was little shock to social standards when such activities enabled some persons to move upward into the nobility without previous high-landed status.[6]

Above all, considerations of party politics were reflected in the creations that occurred sometimes at a trickle, sometimes at a flood of more than twenty per year. Years with numerous creations occurred irregularly, but tended to increase in frequency, so that the average rate, as shown in Table I, increased from a little over four per year before 1866 to nearly ten per year after 1897.

TABLE I

Peerages Created, 1837–1911
by Fifteen-Year Periods

Period	Peerages Created	Annual Rate
1837–1851*	62	4.3
1852–1866	62	4.1
1867–1881	105	7.0
1882–1896	125	8.3
1897–1911	143	9.5
1837–1911	497	6.7

*This period is shortened by six months, beginning with the accession of Queen Victoria, June 20, 1837.

If the administration in power was sure of itself, it tended to put a premium on outstanding qualifications, and to give few peerages. Sir Robert Peel, who recommended the creation of only seven titles in five years, wrote to one person who was seeking a peerage:

I am resolved to be very sparing in the grant of civil honours, and, uninfluenced by any personal objects or private wishes, to consider the power of conferring them

[6] During the seventy-five years, sixty-eight persons received seventy-seven titles for services overseas (diplomatic, administrative, judicial, military, naval); six speakers of the House of Commons received viscountcies upon retirement; and fifteen devoted civil servants received peerages—a total of eighty-nine persons so honored. Of these, twenty-three were already members of the nobility (twenty-two in the foreign service), fifty (including two who afterwards succeeded their brothers in peerages) came from the gentry, and only sixteen, less than one-fifth, came from professional or commercial backgrounds. Among the distinguished noblemen included here were the Marquess of Dalhousie, Governor General of India; the Earl of Elgin, Governor General of Canada; the Marquess of Ripon, first commissioner to settle the *Alabama* claims; the Marquess of Dufferin and Ava, Viceroy of India; and Viscount Downe, who had a notable military record. Those who were not of gentle background included Lords Clyde and Lawrence, military commanders in India during the Mutiny, the first the son of a cabinetmaker and the latter the son of an army officer; Baroness Macdonald, widow of a prime minister of Canada; and Lord Haliburton, son of a Canadian jurist, who had risen from service in the commissary department of the army to become Undersecretary for War.

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as a great public trust, to be administered on some public principle, such as, for instance, the strengthening of the Administration by rewarding those who do not hold office, or, in the case of those who do hold office, bestowing honours as the reward of public service, distinguished either by the length and fidelity of it, or by the eminence of such service. . . .
With respect to the advantage to children, my language to my own is, to gain distinction, and establish the claim for honours (if they covet them) by their own personal exertions and public service.[7]

A ministry that had a comfortable majority in the Commons but faced a hostile majority in the Lords had to give serious consideration to "the strengthening of the Administration" by judicious creation of peers. It was generally more liberal in granting titles, although it might adhere to general criteria similar to Peel's. Lord John Russell explained his policy thus:

3. . . . In my opinion, if [Peel's] course had been followed for fifty years, the House of Lords would have been at an end at that time; for these men of distinguished merit are not, in these days, men of much property; and a House of Lords, the Majority of which neither possess large property nor represent large masses, would be so factious, mischievous, and restless that public opinion would step in and put it down.
4. The real difficulty has arisen from the profusion of Pitt and his successors. In forty-six years they created about forty earls and viscounts and about 120 barons, altogether an addition of 160 to the House of Lords. In this body the Tory element was so predominant that Lord Grey and his cabinet advised the creation of fifty peers at once. We who advised the measure all thought it a very dangerous one, but it was the sequel of the Pitt profusion.
5. Lord Grey and Lord Melbourne remedied the evil to some extent by copious creations. Sir R. Peel again in a quarter of a year's administration made three or four peers. When he returned to power in 1841 he came in as the champion of the cause of Protection, the cause most dear to the House of Lords, and had, therefore, no occasion to make peers.
6. There does not seem to me to be at present any occasion to make a considerable number of peers. But, though it may be very well for you, who have got a comfortable seat in a front row, to call out "Shut the door, and don't let any more in," it is not fair to the great body of English, Irish, and Scotch gentlemen to say that they shall ever be excluded from honours unless they command in a field of battle or distinguish themselves in the government of a colony.[8]

Still a third situation prevailed when a prime minister, having majorities in both houses, was nevertheless uncertain of the loyalty of his followers. When the Conservative party split over the repeal of the Corn Laws, most of

[7] Sir Robert Peel to George R. Dawson, P.C., Sept. 19, 1841, in *Sir Robert Peel, from His Private Papers*, ed. Charles Stuart Parker (3 vols., London, 1891–99), III, 431–32. Peel inaugurated a mid-century lull in peerage creations which extended through the administrations of Russell, Derby, Aberdeen, and into that of Palmerston. During more than fourteen years a total of only twenty-eight new titles was created. As for Sir Robert's children, one, the youngest, became Speaker of the House of Commons and was created Viscount Peel on his retirement in 1895. The second viscount was raised to an earldom in 1929.

[8] Lord John Russell to the second Marquess of Westminister, Sept. 9, 1847. Sir Spencer Walpole, *Life of Lord John Russell* (2 vols., London, 1891), I, 458–59. Russell had just recommended the creation of four new peerages which, he pointed out, merely replaced four recent extinctions.

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the leaders sided with Peel and eventually found their way into the Liberal party, leaving to the Earl of Derby and Benjamin Disraeli the difficult task of building a new and well-disciplined political organization. The use that these men made of peerage creations as a means of binding their followers to them was well recognized; but since these followers were, in the first years, primarily landed gentlemen who had not achieved distinction in public life, it was hard to select recipients for titles who measured up to Peel's standards of merit.[9]

The result of these and other political factors was an increase in new creations which is shown in relation to the parties recommending them in Table II.[10] While the prime ministers of both parties knew that almost every honors list might call forth accusations of "lavish creations," they all faced the demands of individuals for recognition and, in the case of the Liberals, urgent need to strengthen the party in the upper house.[11]

For the total period each group was in office, the Whig-Liberals and the Conservative-Unionists had identical annual rates of creations. Both parties

TABLE II

Peerages Created, 1837–1911
by Fifteen-Year Periods
and by Parties Recommending the Creations*

Period	Whig-Liberal			Conservative-Unionist		
	Years in Office	Titles	Rate/Year	Years in Office	Titles	Rate/Year
1837–1851	9.8	55	5.8	4.8	7	1.5
1852–1866	10.3	42	4.1	2.7	20	7.4
1867–1881	6.9	54	7.8	8.1	51	6.3
1882–1896	6.8	51	7.5	8.2	74	9.0
1897–1911	6.1	71	11.6	8.9	72	8.1
1837–1911	39.9	273	6.8	32.7	224	6.8

* Excludes Aberdeen coalition ministry, 1852–1855, with no creations.

[9] The London *Times* was caustic in its comments on some of these creations. "Sometimes we are inclined to think the Peerage is bestowed on the same principles as give such inestimable value to the Garter,—that merit is carefully excluded from consideration." Aug. 14, 1858. "Three gentlemen of ample landed estate, but of no very remarkable ability . . . have just been raised to the peerage. . . . [It is] reported that the honour has been . . . acknowledged by an ample contribution to the election fund of the party. . . . [They] have done little more for their country than bestow upon it the honour of witnessing their birth, their education, and the uniform flow of their tranquil and prosperous lives." Apr. 26, 1859. "They all belong to the semi-noble order of baronets . . . are all . . . wealthy; and they are all Members of Parliament . . . whose names call up all that is most unyielding in Toryism. . . . It is pleasant to see unshrinking fidelity to party rewarded." Mar. 17, 1868.

[10] This increase should be judged partly in relation to the increase in the total population. From 1841 to 1911 the United Kingdom increased nearly 70 per cent, while Great Britain alone, excluding Ireland, increased over 125 per cent.

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showed substantial increases but, due to Peel's austerity, that of the Conservatives was the more striking. Consistently, an increase or decrease in the Conservative rate was reflected by an increase or decrease in the Liberal rate in the following period.

Who were the recipients of these peerage titles? To what extent did they violate traditional qualifications for such high honors? In Table III an attempt is made to classify them according to the degree to which they pre-

TABLE III

Individuals Receiving Peerages, 1837–1911
According to Family Background

Period	Total	Nobility	Gentry	Other
1837–1851	60	27: 45%	27: 45%	6: 10%
1852–1866	58	23: 40%	25: 43%	10: 17%
1867–1881	103	42: 41%	45: 45%	15: 14%
1882–1896	118	26: 22%	51: 43%	41: 35%
1897–1911	124	16: 13%	55: 44%	53: 43%
1837–1911	463	134: 29%	204: 44%	125: 27%

viously had been associated with the nobility. Three out of ten, already members of the nobility,[12] were receiving augmented honors. More than two-fifths were members of the gentry[13]—sometimes intermarrying with the nobility, sometimes in distant succession to titles—but they never had a sure claim to any hereditary title higher than the seminoble baronetcy that did not carry with it a seat in the House of Lords. The remaining fourth came from other

[11] In the vote of 1893 on the Home Rule bill, the Liberals had a majority against them in the Lords of 419 to 41. The thirteenth Earl of Pembroke, himself a Conservative, recognized the possibility that such a disparity would lead to the abolition of the House of Lords. He wrote: "It must never be forgotten that, whenever the House of Lords comes to be seriously regarded by the country as the mere instrument of the political party which happens to predominate within its walls, its doom is sealed. The party to which it is hostile will sweep it away the first time that it obtains a large majority at the polls, and there will be no one to say it nay." "Reform in the House of Lords," *Nineteenth Century,* XVII (Feb., 1885), 247.

[12] Those classified as "nobility" include princes and persons who themselves were, or whose children were destined to be, holders of titles that might permit them to sit in the House of Lords without reference to the creations that brought them into this study, namely, princes created royal dukes; nobles in their own rights in the peerages of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain, or the United Kingdom; wives, husbands, and eldest sons of such nobles.

[13] The "gentry" classification includes members of noble families not eldest sons of peers, persons with inherited baronetcies, and persons whose fathers' landed status was indicated in entries in the *Complete Peerage,* in obituaries or other notices in the London *Times,* in J. Bernard Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Landed Gentry* . . . (London, various editions appearing under slightly different titles, 1853–1953), or in John Bateman, *Great Landowners of England and Ireland* (4th ed., London, 1883).

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backgrounds which would not customarily have brought close social relations with the nobility.[14]

In each period between 43 and 45 per cent of all those receiving titles came from backgrounds classified as "gentry." A few of these maintained commercial or banking connections which they had inherited along with a landed status acquired during the previous generation or two. But most came from well-established landed and professional families, many closely related by blood or marriage to the nobility. The gentry, then, were an intermediate group between the nobility and the "other" classes, with ties in both directions.

The shift in the balance between the nobility and the "other" group is of particular interest. At first the nobility receiving augmented honors outnumbered the "other" group by more than four to one. During the third quarter of the century the ratio remained more than two to one. It would seem that as late as 1881 few "new" families were being introduced into the nobility without a substantial probationary period in the landed gentry. On the other hand, after 1882 the "other" group outnumbered the nobility receiving augmented honors, and after 1897 it did so by three to one. Thus, although most persons receiving the honors of nobility possessed inherited landed wealth, by the close of Victoria's reign the doors had been opened to permit persons with other forms of wealth and influence to obtain honors.

A wide range of background and personal qualifications for the peerage characterized the "other" group, which short-cut the steps in the passage between social classes. Some of the noted military leaders and judges whose fathers had been professional men before them were not far removed from the gentry. The real challenge to established patterns was found in those who were raised to the peerage without long-established landed connections but with backgrounds of personal or family activities in commerce and industry. The incidence of these people among the total group of peerage recipients is indicated in Table IV, which also shows substantial numbers of recipients from the nobility and gentry who had commercial or industrial connections of importance.

The first Salisbury ministry in 1885–1886 appears to have been the turning point so far as the introduction of persons with commercial and industrial connections into the peerage is concerned. For the first time, and always thereafter, 20 per cent or more of all recipients had such connections. Furthermore, at least 16 per cent always came thereafter from backgrounds other than the nobility and gentry, a hitherto unprecedented percentage.

[14] The "other" classification includes persons whose fathers, without evidence of substantial landed status, had been engaged in the professions (law, medicine, the church, military), commerce, industry, trades, or labor.

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TABLE IV

Individuals Associated with Commerce and Industry
Receiving Peerage Titles (by Ministries)

Ministry		Party*	All New Peers	Recipients from Commerce and Industry			
				Nobles	Gentry	Other**	Total**
1837–1841	Melbourne	W	38	0	0	1: 3%	1: 3%
1841–1846	Peel	C	7	0	1	0	1: 14%
1846–1852	Russell	W	16	0	2	1: 6%	3: 19%
1852	Derby	C	3	0	0	0	0
1852–1855	Aberdeen	W–P	0	0	0	0	0
1855–1858	Palmerston	W (L)	13	0	0	2: 15%	2: 15%
1858–1859	Derby	C	11	0	0	0	0
1859–1866	Palmerston and Russell	W (L)	24	1	2	0	3: 13%
1866–1868	Derby and Disraeli	C	19	0	1	0	1: 5%
1868–1874	Gladstone	L	41	1	3	2: 5%	6: 15%
1874–1880	Disraeli	C	37	1	2	0	3: 8%
1880–1885	Gladstone	L	32	2	2	1: 3%	5: 16%
1885–1886	Salisbury	C	13	1	1	1: 8%	3: 23%
1886	Gladstone	L	9	0	0	2: 22%	2: 22%
1886–1892	Salisbury	C	45	0	2	10: 22%	12: 27%
1892–1895	Gladstone and Rosebery	L	20	0	2	5: 25%	7: 35%
1895–1905	Salisbury and Balfour	U (C)	70	2	8	11: 16%	21: 30%
1905–1911	Campbell-Bannerman and Asquith	L	65	2	5	19: 29%	26: 40%
1837–1911			463	10	31	55: 12%	96: 21%

* C: Conservatives; L: Liberal; P: Peelite; U: Unionist; W: Whig.
** Percentages are of all new peers.

Until 1885 there had been only seven new peers with "other" backgrounds who had been associated with commerce and industry. Three of these had come from commercial families,[15] but in each case their public services had

[15] Charles Edward Poulett-Thomson, a younger son in a mercantile family long engaged in the Russia trade, had already had extensive experience in business both at home and abroad when, at the age of thirty-one, he became a member of the government as vice-president of the Board of Trade. Eight years later he was selected to pacify Canada after the rebellions of 1837 and 1838, and his success in unifying Upper and Lower Canada brought him a peerage in 1840 as Baron Sydenham. Unmarried, he died the following year without having returned to England. *CP*, XII, pt. 1, 589–90. Thomas Babington Macaulay, son of a Sierra Leone merchant, was created Baron Macaulay in 1857 and died unmarried in 1859. "Well known as a Whig states-

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been outstanding. Since in the past persons with commercial backgrounds had used the public service as a means of social advancement, and since each of these three died childless, it is doubtful that their elevation to the peerage had much impact on social institutions. Much the same might be said of the three bankers in this group of seven, as two had strong aristocratic family connections and the third exercised an important behind-the-scenes influence on government.[16]

The remaining individual, Edward Strutt, was the only true product of the new industry among the seven, since his grandfather had started the family fortune by a partnership with Sir Richard Arkwright. Edward appears to have devoted much of his time to politics and government rather than the direct management of the family enterprise, but there is little doubt that he was identified in the public mind as one of the great manufactures of the country,[17] the first of them to receive a peerage. Contemporary comments indicate the recognition given the event:

> We have much pleasure in announcing that it is Her Majesty's gracious intention to elevate the Right Hon. Edward Strutt, late M.P. for Nottingham to the Peerage, with the title of Lord Belper—a name which will ever be identified with the manufacturing industry of the country, as well as with the family of the right hon. gentleman, by whose enterprise it was first raised to importance.[18]

A few days later the London *Times* quoted at length from the Manchester *Examiner:*

> It is as a manufacturer, and to mark the interest which the Queen takes in the manufacturing pursuits of the country, that Mr. Strutt is metamorphosed into

man, he was far more famous as a writer." *CP,* VIII, 327. Edward Cardwell, son of a Liverpool merchant, had had an outstanding parliamentary record of more than thirty years. In 1874, rather than take the leadership of the Liberal party, which Gladstone wished to relinquish, he took a peerage as Viscount Cardwell. John Morley, *The Life of William Ewart Gladstone* (2 vols., London, 1908), II, 78.

[16] Samuel Jones Loyd, head of the banking firm of Jones, Loyd and Company, was created Baron Overstone in 1850. He exercised substantial influence as the confidential adviser to Sir Charles Wood, Chancellor of the Exchequer. *The Dictionary of National Biography from the Earliest Times to 1900* (22 vols., London, 1921–22), XII, 225. The peerage became extinct at his death in 1883, but two years later his son-in-law and heir was created Baron Wantage. George Carr Glyn, head of the banking firm of Glyn, Mills, Currie and Company, whose wife was a granddaughter of the first Viscount Doneraile, was created Baron Wolverton in 1869. His father and grandfather had been Lords Mayor of London, and his son was "whip" in the House of Commons from 1868 to 1873. Glyn and his firm were important in financing railways; he was chairman of the London and Northwestern Railway. Leland Hamilton Jenks, *The Migration of British Capital to 1875* (London, 1927), 130 ff.; *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland . . .*, ed. G. E. C. [George Edward Cokayne] (8 vols., London, 1887–98), VIII, 196. Hereafter cited as *Old CP.* Sir Dudley Coutts Marjoribanks, first Bart., first cousin of David Robertson, who had been created Baron Marjoribanks in 1873, was created Baron Tweedmouth in 1881. His father had been a partner in the Coutts Bank for seventy years. *Old CP,* VII, 441.

[17] The magnitude of the operations is indicated by a notation that early in the nineteenth century the Strutts installed at their Belper mills a breast-type water wheel forty feet wide and twelve and a half feet in diameter. Eric Hodgins and F. Alexander Magoun, *Behemoth* (Garden City, N. Y., 1932), 21.

[18] London *Times,* July 26, 1856. The patent of creation was issued August 29, 1856.

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Baron Belper. As such it is a graceful and prudent act. It shows a wise appreciation of the signs of the times. It is something for those who claim to be regarded as the descendents of the mailed barons of England to admit into their order a man who not only has made but is making his fortune by spindles and looms Lord Belper is the first "millowner" who has been elevated to the peerage, but a considerable number of noble lords have long been quite willing to co-operate with our manufacturers and pocket their money. . . . They have no objection to supply our factories with fuel, and carry our goods to market. . . . The worst enemy of the peerage could desire nothing better than the perpetuation of the ancient schism between land and commerce, ploughs and spindles.[19]

"One robin does not make the spring," and a quarter of a century passed before, in 1880, "the surrender of feudalism to industry" which the Belper peerage had been supposed to herald was marked by any further peerages granted to persons engaged in manufacturing. Even then the two men so honored had each inherited baronetcies and had married into the higher aristocracy, so that they are here classified as "gentry."[20] It was not until 1886 that three industrialists without aristocratic connections were elevated to the peerage[21] to inaugurate a period when such men would be found in increasing numbers and in larger proportion to all the new peers being created.

After 1885 persons connected with commerce and industry represented, on the average, nearly a third (31.1 per cent) of all the new peers, compared with one tenth (10.4 per cent) previously. Among these, those without noble or gentle backgrounds now were more than a fifth (21.6 per cent) of all new peers, compared with less than 3 per cent before. Among these new peers a wide range of commercial and industrial activities was represented—railways,[22] armaments and machinery,[23] the publication and dissemination of news,[24] metallurgy and chemicals,[25] shipping,[26] textiles,[27] building,[28] min-

[19] *Ibid.*, Aug. 2, 1856. The acceptance of this millowner's family into the aristocracy received its ultimate confirmation in 1937, when Edward Strutt's great-granddaughter, daughter of the third Baron Belper, married the Duke of Norfolk. London *Times*, Jan. 7, 28, 1937.

[20] Sir Ivor Bertie Guest, second Bart., created Baron Wimborne in 1880, was head of the Dowlais Ironworks, which had been in the family since 1747. His mother was the daughter of the ninth Earl of Lindsey; his wife, the daughter of the seventh Duke of Marlborough and sister of Lord Randolph Churchill. London *Times*, Feb., 23, 1914. Sir Arthur Edward Guinness, second Bart., a brewer, was created Baron Ardilaun in 1880. His wife was a daughter of the third Earl of Bantry. See fn. 2.

[21] For Sir Henry Allsopp and Sir Michael Bass, created respectively Baron Hindlip and Baron Burton, see fn. 2. Sir Thomas Brassey, son of a noted international railway contractor, created Baron Brassey in 1886, received an earldom at the coronation of George V in 1911. *CP*, II, 281–83.

[22] Barons Mount Stephen (1891), Knaresborough (1905), and Joicey (1906); Viscount Colville (1895, 1902); Earl Brassey (1886, 1911). *CP, passim;* Pumphrey, "Creation of Peerages," 180–85.

[23] Barons Armstrong (1887), Kelvin (1892), Rendel (1894), Armstrong (1903), and Merthyr (1911). *Ibid.*

[24] Barons Glenesk (1899), Burnham (1903), Northcliffe (1905), and Faber (1905); Viscountess Hambleden (1891). *Ibid.*

[25] Barons Swansea (1893), Overtoun (1893), Airedale (1907), Ashby St. Ledgers (1910), and Glenconner (1911). *Ibid.*

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ing,[29] brewing,[30] and others, as well as the traditional banking and mercantile interests.

Some among the new peerages seemed to indicate that opportunities for an extremely rapid rise in the social scale were increasing. Lord Herschell's father was a converted Polish Jew who became a nonconformist clergyman in London;[31] Lord Mount Stephen,[32] who promoted the Canadian Pacific Railway, and his cousin Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal,[33] who obtained control of the Hudson's Bay Company, were both obscure emigrants from Scotland who utilized their great business talents to take leading parts in the development of Canada. Lord Pirrie, on the other hand, had been born in Canada but brought back to Ireland after the death of his father. Rising from apprentice to head of the great shipbuilding firm of Harland and Wolff, he moved on to still wider shipping interests and was hailed at his death as a prototype of captains of industry.[34] Lord Glantawe's obituary was headed "A Tinplate Worker's Rise,"[35] while of the Earl of Inchape, "a great ship owner," it was sad that "he rose from obscurity to great wealth and position."[36]

What had happened to bring about this sudden increase in the commercial and industrial elements among those receiving peerages? The selection of particular individuals was undoubtedly largely determined by their personalities and careers, and by the tempestuous politics of the period. But, since the obtaining of a peerage usually represented the culmination of a substantial political career, it may be postulated that the observed phenomenon of a substantial increase in the number of persons with commercial and industrial

[26] Barons Inverclyde (1897), Nunburnholme (1906), Pirrie (1906), Furness (1910), and Inchcape (1911); Viscount Ridley (1900); Earl Egerton (1897). *Ibid.*

[27] Barons Cheylesmore (1887), Masham (1891), Dunleath (1892), Marchamley (1908), Rotherham (1910), and Emmott (1911). *Ibid.*

[28] Barons Ashcombe (1892) and Cowdray (1910). *Ibid.*

[29] Barons Joicey (1906), Glantawe (1906), Allendale (1906), and Aberconway (1911); Viscount Allendale (1911). *Ibid.*

[30] See fn. 2; also Barons Blyth (1907) and Marchamley (1908). *Ibid.*

[31] Farrer Herschell, created Baron Herschell in 1886, was Lord Chancellor in the Liberal ministries of 1886 and 1892–1895. His maternal grandfather was a Scottish merchant, so that Herschell "was never a poor man." *Encyclopædia Britannica,* 11th ed., XIII, 395.

[32] George Stephen, created Baron Mount Stephen, 1891. *CP,* IX, 363–64.

[33] Donald Smith, created Baron Strathcona and Mount Royal in 1897, having no sons, obtained a new patent of creation for the same title, but with special remainder to his daughter, in 1900. *CP,* XII, pt. 1, 377–79.

[34] London *Times,* June 9, 1924. William James Pirrie had been created Baron Pirrie, 1906, and Viscount Pirrie, 1921.

[35] *Ibid.,* July 28, 1915. John Jones Jenkins, created Baron Glantawe in 1906, had as a boy followed his father's occupation. He, too, became a proprietor, expanded his activities, became Mayor of Swansea and an M.P. (Liberal, Liberal-Unionist, then Liberal again).

[36] *Ibid.,* May 24, 1932. James Lyle Mackay, created Baron Inchcape in 1911 (a coronation peerage), Viscount Inchcape in 1924, and Earl of Inchcape in 1929, was the son of a small Scottish shipper. He moved ahead rapidly as a youth after assuming exceptional responsibilities while serving as a clerk in the Bombay office of the British India Steamship and Navigation Company of which he became chairman and managing director twenty years later.

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backgrounds elevated to the peerage in the middle and late 1880's was a lagging secondary reflection of a primary change that had occurred at least a political generation earlier. The suddenness of the change in the 1880's might suggest an equally sudden earlier shift, possibly related to the Reform Act of 1867.

Two contemporary comments by astute political writers, as well as the political careers of the recipients themselves, tend to support this point of view. In 1872 Walter Bagehot wrote:

> The Reform Act of 1867 has, I think, unmistakably completed the effect which the Act of 1832 began, but left unfinished. The middle class element has gained greatly by the second change, and the aristocratic element has lost greatly. . . . The spirit of our present House of Commons is plutocratic, not aristocratic; its most prominent statesmen are not men of ancient or of great hereditary estate; they are men mostly of substantial means, but they are mostly, too, connected more or less closely with the new trading wealth.[37]

In 1891 the author of the leading article in the London *Times* concurred in Bagehot's judgment:

> It is characteristic of modern Conservatism that a man like MR. SMITH should have held his high position in the party. Conservatism in England was wont to be aristocratic, and bound up with the fortunes of the great landed class. The Tories of fifty years ago disliked PEEL; their successors hated DISRAELI, though they were obliged to follow him; and in both cases the origin of the feeling was that the leader was a man who did not belong to the old aristocratic English caste. The modern spirit and the Act of 1867 have changed all that; and our age has seen the Conservative party in the House, and the House itself, following . . . with positive affection, a simple man of business, without any pretensions to "family." It is significant that his first entry into the House of Commons should have occurred in 1868, in the very year after the "leap in the dark," and that the reformed constituency of Westminster should have preferred the unknown Con-

[37] Walter Bagehot, *The English Constitution and Other Political Essays* (rev. ed., New York, 1877), "Introduction to Second Edition" (1872), 20. Bagehot was here carrying forward the argument he had previously stated (pp. 231–35) that the impediments to active political participation experienced by commercial and industrial leaders were, in the 1860's, becoming unbearable and contributed to the pressure for reform. See also the description of Edward Bates, the member for Plymouth, in the "London Letter" to the New York *Herald:* "Mr. Bates is a conservative of the new type—a wealthy, one ideaed merchant, who feels that he has a stake in the country, and that he must protect his interests. The House of Commons is just now swamped with such as these. . . . Mr. Disraeli . . . cannot afford to irritate the plutocrats, shippers, merchants, and others who are the backbone of the conservative party." Aug. 8, 1875. This letter, attributed to Edmund Yates, is quoted in R. J. Hinton, *English Radical Leaders* (New York, 1875), 202. However, the persons retiring from active political life and receiving peerages between 1867 and 1886 were carry-overs from the preceeding period and the outstanding qualifications of some of them give the impression that this was an Indian summer of the aristocracy. During Gladstone's first administration alone, for instance, the list of distinguished persons of noble or gentle family who received peerages included: Barons Lawrence, Howard of Glossop, Acton, Kildare (later fourth Duke of Leinster), Lisgar, Dalling and Bulwer, Blachford, Ettrick (tenth Lord Napier of Merchistoun), Selborne, Moncreiff, Coleridge, and Cottesloe; Baroness Burdett-Coutts; Viscount Ossington; the Earl of Dufferin; and the Marquess of Ripon.

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servative who sold books to the famous Liberal—JOHN STUART MILL—who wrote them.[38]

The changes that had been taking place in the economic life of the nation for more than a century and that the political structure reflected through marked changes in the composition of the House of Commons after the Reform Act of 1867 thus began to show clearly in the peerage creations after 1885. But changes in an ongoing, hereditary institution such as the nobility occur slowly. The tendency is to absorb new additions and mold them into the existing pattern. The introduction of less than fifty unlanded families among more than two hundred receiving new creations over a twenty-five-year period, 1885–1911, probably did not by itself greatly modify the body of the nobility, which already consisted of over six hundred families at the beginning of the period. This would be especially true in view of the magnitude of the estates of some of the landed gentlemen who were stepping up into the nobility.[39] One would hardly expect to observe marked changes in the characteristics of the nobility arising from the new creations until the increased rate of commercial-industrial peerages granted by the Liberals after 1905 could have a cumulative effect in the second and third decades of the century.[40]

However, the introduction of "new" families was not the only way in which the nobility could adapt to the times. People in all grades of the landed aristocracy could shift their own patterns and standards closer to those prevailing in other wealthy groups. That this was taking place throughout the nineteenth century is indicated fragmentarily by those persons from the gentry and nobility who received peerages after engaging in one capacity or another in commerce or industry. Two instances serve to point up different ways landed classes were making this adaptation.

The Earl of Ellesmere illustrates the great landlord, with large invest-

[38] Oct. 7, 1891. This article was written on the occasion of the death of William Henry Smith, Conservative leader of the Commons. Smith's widow, Emily Danvers Smith, was created Viscountess Hambleden, in recognition of his services. Smith, whose father had been a prosperous bookseller in the Strand, attained great wealth by developing the system of railway bookstalls throughout the country. The *Complete Peerage*, VI, 253, says that, supposedly, the following lines in *HMS Pinafore* referred to his appointment as First Lord of the Admiralty, 1877–1880, in the lines:

> I always voted at my Party's call,
> And never thought of thinking for myself at all;
> I thought so little they rewarded me
> By making me the Ruler of the Queen's Navee.

[39] It was reputed that Wentworth Blackett Beaumont, created Baron Allendale in 1906, could travel thirty miles in an almost direct line over his own lands, which included important mining properties. London *Times*, Feb. 14, 1907. His son, the second Baron, received a coronation peerage as Viscount Allendale in 1911. *CP*, XIII, 74.

[40] For a discussion of this trend at the later period, see Harold J. Laski, "The Prime Minister's Honors Lists," *Nation and Athanæum*, XXXI (July 15, 1922), 528–29.

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ments in mining and transportation,[41] whose sense of *noblesse oblige* led him to undertake benevolent activities on behalf of his tenants not unlike those recommended by Disraeli in *Sybil*.[42] Ellesmere was the younger son of the first Duke of Sutherland and heir, through a trust arrangement, to the "princely income" of a large part of the estates, including the Worsley and the Liverpool and Manchester canals with their attendant mining and industrial developments that the Duke of Bridgewater had built up in the last half of the eighteenth century.[43] Egerton built a hundred-thousand-pound residence at Worsley to identify himself with the estates. His brother-in-law Charles Greville, the diarist, after listing all the undesirable features of the surroundings, including canal and railway, chimneys and furnaces, flat clay soil, lack of hunting and society, says: "They have done this and much more from a sense of duty, from fully recognizing the authority of the maxim that 'property has its duties as well as its rights.'" He went on to say that Egerton had had to pay £45,000 to secure the resignation of one of the trustees of the estate who refused to cooperate in improving conditions for the laboring class tenants.[44]

Another type of adjustment—perhaps a more significant one in the long run—is typified by the Vivian family, which for more than three centuries had been among the lesser gentry of Cornwall and Devon. The family does not appear at any time to have been very affluent, and at the beginning of the French wars near the end of the eighteenth century an eldest son left the university to enter the army. By purchase, by merit, and by politics he reached the highest ranks in military circles, and eventually received a peerage.[45] In the meantime, the task of managing the family estates devolved upon his

[41] See quotation from the Manchester *Examiner*, fn. 19. See also David Spring, "The English Landed Estate in the Age of Coal and Iron: 1830–1880," *Journal of Economic History*, XI (Winter 1951), 3–24.

[42] Benjamin Disraeli, first Earl of Beaconsfield, *Sybil; or The Two Nations* (3 vols., London, 1845). The entire novel is devoted to the problem of the social relations of the rich and the poor; the activities of the hero, Lord Egremont, resemble those of Lord Francis Egerton.

[43] Lord Francis Egerton, created Earl of Ellesmere in 1846, received only the income, the estates themselves being held in a trust established in 1803 under the will of the Duke of Bridgewater. The trust did not expire, and the then Earl of Ellesmere receive full possession of the property until 1903. *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th ed., IV, 558. The extent of the industrial operations in 1837, when Lord Francis took over, is seen in a statement attributed to him: "Everything in which timber and iron are concerned, my people (whom I pay and can remove at pleasure) fashion and provide. We burn lime, supply all railroads with coke, make bricks, boats, etc., etc., all this under my immediate nose. All this, perhaps, would be more economical if done by contract, etc., but I should lose much of the amusement, and all the influence, which it now gives me over the immediate destinies of between three and four thousand people, not to mention mules and horses, which influence I find after all very agreeable to have." Bernard Falk, *The Bridgewater Millions, a Candid Family History* (London, 1942), 162.

[44] Charles Greville, *The Greville Memoirs* (*Second Part*), 3 vols., ed. Henry Reeves (London, 1885), II, 302–306.

[45] General Sir Richard Hussey Vivian, first Bart., created Baron Vivian in 1841, had moved from a brilliant career in the Napoleonic wars into twenty years of political-military activity as a Whig M.P. London *Times*, Aug. 26, 1842.

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younger brother. By hard work and good business management the latter built up a large copper-smelting works which his son Henry expanded still farther until, about 1895, it employed more than five thousand men. As head of such a large establishment Henry's income must have exceeded by far the wildest dreams of his grandfather when that gentleman purchased a commission in the army for his first-born, Henry's uncle. Henry, of course, had much local influence, was drawn into politics, and in also receiving a peerage[46] illustrated the diversity of routes by which men of the same ancestry might achieve upward social mobility.

It is clear that while the passage of the Parliament Act of 1911, with its limitation on the power of the House of Lords to block legislation, sealed the fate of the political power of the nobility, the social structure of the nobility, too, was in a process of change accomplished by internal adjustment as well as by the introduction into it of persons whose power and prestige did not rest on inherited landed wealth. The impression that the aristocracy had become by the beginning of the twentieth century a "middle class institution"[47] is justified by the direction in which the aristocracy was moving rather than by a completed transformation.

[46] Sir Henry Hussey Vivian, first Bart., created Baron Swansea in 1893. London *Times,* Nov. 30, 1894. The attraction of business as a prelude to politics for young men of good social position and high education is discussed in the London *Times,* June 15, 1865.

[47] For a succinct statement of this widely held concept, see William Ralph Inge, *The Victorian Age* (Cambridge, Eng., 1922), 52.

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Development of the Committee System in the House of Representatives

GEORGE B. GALLOWAY*

FROM the beginning our national legislature has conducted its work largely through committees of its members. The use of select and standing committees, as well as the Committee of the Whole, was derived by Congress from the practice of the English House of Commons via the colonial assemblies, especially those in Pennsylvania and Virginia.[1] In the early days the House of Representatives referred its business to a host of select committees. For every bill and petty claim a special committee was "raised." Select committees are special or temporary groups created for a particular purpose, whereas standing committees are permanent groups that continue from Congress to Congress.

Although during its first quarter century the House relied chiefly upon select committees and the Committee of the Whole, the standing committee system had its inception in the earliest days. The Committee on Elections created in 1789 (since 1946 a standing subcommittee of the Committee on House Administration) has the honor of being the oldest standing committee of the House. Claims, established in 1794, was the second to join this category, and was followed in 1795 by Interstate and Foreign Commerce and Revisal and Unfinished Business. As the nineteenth century advanced the select committees were converted into standing committees, which gradually grew in number. Six of them were set up in the first decade of that century and eleven in the second decade. By mid-century the House had thirty-four standing committees; by 1900, fifty-eight. Nine more were added during the twentieth century until 1930, when the process of fission stopped save for the creation in 1945 of the Committee on Un-American Activities and in 1958 of the Committee on Science and Astronautics. With the consolidation in 1920 of jurisdiction over appropriations in a single Committee on Appropriations (previously divided among nine committees), and with the merger in 1927

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[1] On the evolution of the committee system see J. Franklin Jameson, "The Origin of the Standing Committee System in American Legislative Bodies," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* (Washington, D. C., 1893); and L. G. McConachie, *Congressional Committees* (New York, 1898).

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of eleven expenditures committees into a single Committee on Expenditures in the executive departments, a net reduction of eighteen in the number of House standing committees was effected. Finally, in 1946, the committee structure in the first chamber was streamlined when forty-eight standing groups were reduced to nineteen.

The following tables reflect the chronological development of the standing committee system of the House of Representatives:

GROWTH OF STANDING COMMITTEES BY DECADES

1789–1800	4
1801–1810	6
1811–1820	11
1821–1830	6
1831–1840	6
1841–1850	1
1851–1860	1
1861–1870	7
1871–1880	4
1881–1890	3
1891–1900	9
1901–1910	3
1911–1920	3
1921–1930	2
1931–1940	0
1941–1950	1
1951–1960	1

GROWTH OF STANDING COMMITTEES BY PERIODS

Congress	Number
14th	20
28th	36
42d	42
56th	58
70th	45
84th	19

CHRONOLOGY OF HOUSE STANDING COMMITTEES

Committee	Created
Elections No. 1	1789
Claims	1794
Interstate and Foreign Commerce	1795
Revisal and Unfinished Business	1795
Ways and Means	1802
Accounts	1805
Public Lands	1805
District of Columbia	1808
Post Office and Post Roads	1808
Library	1809

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Committee	Created
Judiciary	1813
Revolutionary Claims	1813
Public Expenditures	1814
Private Land Claims	1816
Expenditures in Executive Departments (5)	1816
Manufactures	1819
Agriculture	1820
Indian Affairs	1821
Military Affairs	1822
Naval Affairs	1822
Foreign Affairs	1822
Military Pensions	1825
Territories	1825
Invalid Pensions	1831
Railways and Canals	1831
Militia	1835
Patents	1837
Public Buildings and Grounds	1837
Mileage	1837
Engraving	1844
Expenditures in Interior Department	1860
Coinage, Weights, and Measures	1864
Appropriations	1865
Banking and Currency	1865
Mines and Mining	1865
Pacific Railroads	1865
Education and Labor (separated in 1883)	1867
Revision of the Laws	1868
War Claims	1873
Expenditures in Department of Justice	1874
Levees and Improvements of Mississippi River	1875
Rules	1880
Rivers and Harbors	1883
Merchant Marine and Fisheries	1887
Expenditures in Department of Agriculture	1889
Election of President, Vice President, and Representatives	1893
Immigration and Naturalization	1893
Irrigation and Reclamation	1893
Civil Service	1893
Alcoholic Liquor Traffic	1893
Ventilation and Acoustics	1893
Elections No. 2	1895
Elections No. 3	1895
Insular Affairs	1899
Census	1901
Industrial Arts and Expositions	1901
Expenditures in Department of Commerce and Labor	1905
Roads	1913
Flood Control	1916

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Committee	Created
Woman Suffrage	1917
World War Veterans' Legislation	1924
Memorials	1929
Un-American Activities	1945
Science and Astronautics	1958

A mere listing of the names of these sixty-seven standing committees that the House of Representatives established during a century and a half reflects the growing diversity of interests in the expanding nation and, concomitantly, the rising business of the House. With a little imagination the committee list may be viewed as an outline of American history, for the creation of each major committee was associated with some important historical event or emerging public problem. Thus the increasing domestic and foreign trade of the new republic was soon followed by the creation of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce in 1795. The Louisiana Purchase in 1803 gave rise to the Committee on Public Lands in 1805. The location of the seat of the national government on the shores of the Potomac in 1800 led to the District of Columbia Committee in 1808. The Committee on Public Expenditures was created in 1814 in order to relieve Ways and Means of some of its duties and to inquire into the economical management of the departments and the accountability of officers. The expanding relations of the United States with foreign nations produced the Committee on Foreign Affairs in 1822.[2] The Appropriations Committee dates from 1865, when it was created to relieve Ways and Means, then overburdened by the weight of war legislation. Long opposed by southern members, the establishment of the Committee on Education and Labor in 1867 marked the emancipation of the slaves. And so on down the long list to the creation of the Un-American Activities Committee in 1945, reflecting postwar fears of internal subversion.

From 1790 until 1911 the Speaker appointed the members and the chairmen of the standing and select committees of the House of Representatives. From 1857 he made these appointments, with few exceptions, at the commencement of each Congress. But the Speaker lost this power in 1911, and since that time the House has elected the committees and their chairmen as soon as the two political parties in the chamber have had time to perfect their lists and present resolutions for their ratification. In the earlier usage the member moving a select committee was named as its chairman. Prior to 1880, when the rule relating to the appointment of select committees was adopted, the House occasionally deprived the Speaker of the appointment of a select

[2] Foreign Affairs and Naval Affairs had been select committees in continuous existence since 1808.

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committee; but the practice of leaving the appointment of House members of conference committees and the chairman of the Committee of the Whole to the Speaker dates from the earlier years.

During early Congresses an attempt was made to give each state representation on important committees. As the number of states in the Union gradually grew, this practice was discontinued, but geographical representation remains a significant factor in committee assignments. Formerly members sometimes complained about undue delay on the part of the Speaker in assigning committee posts. In the Forty-second Congress (1871) the Speaker waited from March 4 to December 4 before submitting committee lists.

In the modern practice the lists of committee assignments are prepared by the "committees on committees" of the major parties. The Republican conference selects its "committee on committees" and the Democratic members of the Ways and Means Committee act as their "committee on committees." The lists drawn up by these groups are approved in party conference and then ratified by the House. Party representation on the standing committees of the House is determined by the selection committee of the majority party and reflects the party ratio in the chamber. Freedom of choice in making committee assignments is limited both by the number and size of the committees, which are fixed by the standing rules and by the number of vacancies resulting from the death, defeat, or resignation of committeemen.

During the nineteenth century the Speaker generally appointed the chairman of House committees, although the annals reveal several instances in which committees chose their own chairmen.[3] Since April 5, 1911, the House has elected the chairmen of its standing committees at the commencement of each Congress and has usually although not invariably followed the unwritten rule of seniority when filling vacancies in committee chairmanships.[4] Seniority is the custom by which the chairmanships of the standing committees automatically go to the majority party members who have the longest continuous service on the committees.

Speaker Joseph Cannon once summed up the case for seniority when he said:

A man comes here for his first term, and although he may be a man of great ability and high character, how is anyone to know it? He must prove it, and until he does prove it it he must serve his probation and be put, not on the Ways and Means Committee to frame a tariff bill or on the Appropriations Committee, but

[3] *Hind's Precedents of the House of Representatives* (5 vols., Washington, D. C., 1907), IV, sections 4524–29, pp. 916–18.

[4] *Ibid.*, section 4513, p. 913. *Cannon's Precedents of the House of Representatives,* (6 vols., [*VI–XI*, following Hind's *Precedents*] Washington, D.C., 1936), VIII, sections 2201–2202, pp. 20–21.

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on an unimportant committee, where he can show what he has in him and learn the business of government.[5]

On rare occasions this custom has been broken. In 1903 Representative Jesse Overstreet of Indiana, for example, became chairman of the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads and thereby won precedence over two members who had served sixteen and thirty-two years, respectively. In 1905 Representative James A. Tawney of Minnesota received appointment as chairman of Appropriations over two members who outranked him. Speaker Cannon made both of these departures in order to promote his policies. In 1909 Representative James R. Mann of Illinois advanced to the chairmanship of Interstate and Foreign Commerce out of his turn. In 1915 Representative Claude Kitchin of North Carolina became chairman of Ways and Means over Representative Dorsey W. Shackleford of Missouri, who stood next in line because the incumbent of this post at that time was also the Democratic floor leader, a position for which Mr. Kitchin was preferred. And in 1921 Representative Martin B. Madden of Illinois was elevated to the chairmanship of Appropriations, of which he had only recently become a member, because the committeeman next in line was considered too old to assume the heavy duties of launching the new budget system.[6]

Just as the standing committees usually control legislative action, so the chairmen usually control their committees. Selected on the basis of seniority, these "lord-proprietors" (as Woodrow Wilson called them) hold key positions in the power structure of Congress. They arrange the agenda of the committees, appoint the subcommittees, and refer bills to them. They often decide what pending measures shall be considered and when, call committee meetings, and decide whether or not and when to hold hearings. They approve lists of scheduled witnesses, select their staffs and authorize staff studies, and preside at committee hearings. They handle reported bills on the floor of the House and participate as principal managers in conference committees. They are in a position to expedite measures they favor and to retard or pigeonhole those they dislike. Strong chairmen can often induce in executive sessions the kind of committee action they desire. In the House of Representatives, where debate is limited, the chairman in charge of a bill apportions time to whomever he pleases during debate on the floor. He also has the right to open and close the debate on bills reported by his committee; and he may move the previous question whenever he thinks best. In short, committee chairmen exercise crucial powers over the legislative process. In his little

[5] *Congressional Record*, 61 Cong., 1 sess., XLIV, pt. 5, Appendix, 108 (July 12, 1909).
[6] Paul DeWitt Hasbrouck, *Party Government in the House of Representatives* (New York, 1927), 48.

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classic on *Congressional Government* Woodrow Wilson described our form of government in a single phrase by calling it "a government by the chairmen of the standing committees of Congress."[7] So far as Congress is concerned, this description is in a large sense still true.

In view of the potent place of committee chairmen in the power structure of Congress, it is interesting to observe the regional distribution of these influential posts. When the Republicans controlled the House in the Eighty-third Congress, the central states had fourteen of the nineteen standing committee chairmanships, the middle Atlantic states had four, and New England had one. Illinois alone had five chairmanships, including Foreign Affairs, Judiciary, and Rules. Michigan had three: Banking and Currency, Government Operations, and Public Works. In the second session of the Eighty-fifth Congress, when the Democrats were in power, the South had twelve of the nineteen chairmanships in the House, the middle Atlantic states had four, the central states had two, and the Pacific coast, one. This pattern of committee power has existed for many years, with the Middle West in the seats of the mighty when the Republicans dominate the House and the South controlling the committee strongholds when the Democrats are in the ascendancy.

From the earliest days the rules of the House have given its standing committees jurisdiction over the various subjects of legislation. The entire legislative domain has been divided into distinct categories defined by the rules, and jurisdiction over each category has been allocated to a separate standing committee. The Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 not only streamlined the committee structure of the House, but also redefined and clarified the jurisdiction of the nineteen modernized committees. Every subject of legislation then conceivable was listed under the appropriate standing committee; no one then foresaw that the amazing advance of science and the exploration of outer space by man-made moons and satellites would create new fields of legislative interest and inquiry. The same act sought to reduce the scope of lawmaking by prohibiting the reception or consideration of certain private bills relating to claims, pensions, construction of bridges, and the correction of military or naval records. Upon their introduction all bills are referred to the appropriate standing committees, which must consider and report them before they can be taken up on the floor.

The rules of the House are the rules of its committees, so far as applicable, and committees may adopt additional rules not inconsistent therewith. Several House committees have adopted their own standing orders and custom-

[7] Woodrow Wilson, *Congressional Government: A Study in American Politics* (Boston, 1885), 56.

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arily print them in their committee calendars together with the appropriate provisions regarding committee powers and procedures from Sections 133 and 134 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946. Over the years the standing committees of Congress have acquired power to hold hearings; to sit and act when and where they deem it advisable during sessions (by special leave), recesses, and adjourned periods; to send for persons and papers; to take testimony and make expenditures; to investigate and report upon any matter within their jurisdiction; to oversee the execution of the laws; to certify contumacious witnesses for contempt; to adopt rules and appoint subcommittees; to report in certain cases at any time or not to report. Measures that the whole House might approve are sometimes "killed in committee" by a few members. Congressional committees usually report only those the British House of Commons, where all referred bills are reported back favorably or otherwise.

Subject to some limitations, the committees of Congress have come to play a leading role in lawmaking. Each composed of comparatively few members, each normally acting independently of the others, they have long determined the agenda of the House and the Senate. Both houses have largely delegated to their standing committees the power to decide what matters shall be considered on the floor and to control the proceedings there, subject to the terms of the Rules Committee. They can amend or rewrite bills to suit themselves, report bills or pigeonhole them, proceed with dispatch or deliberate at length. Thus the real locus of the legislative power is not in the House bills that a majority of their members favor, unlike some state legislatures and or Senate; it is in their standing committees. The tendency is for the standing committees to frame policy that the whole legislature usually follows.

Various criteria have been used in making the committee assignments. The most influential considerations are seniority of service in the chamber, geography, personal preference, and previous committee service. Seniority is governed by continuous, uninterrupted service; a member's seniority dates from the beginning of his last uninterrupted service, regardless of previous service in the House, and determines his rank on committees and his place at the committee table. If a veteran member of the House loses his seat for a single term and returns to his former committee, he begins again at the foot of the committee table despite his previous service. This happened, for example, to Representative Earl C. Michener of Michigan, who served from March 4, 1919, to March 3, 1933, and enjoyed a long tenure on the Rules Committee but was defeated for reelection to the Seventy-third Congress. Mr. Michener returned to the House in January 1935 and served until his

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voluntary retirement in January 1951, but his absence of two years during 1933–1934 cost him his high place on Rules and the chairmanship of this committee during the Eightieth Congress.

Party ratios on the standing committees of the House of Representatives are determined by agreement between the majority and minority leadership. Ways and Means is now usually fixed at fifteen to ten, Rules at eight to four. On the other House committees the ratio corresponds roughly, but not with mathematical precision, to the party division in the chamber.

The committees of Congress vary in their representative character. Some are fairly representative of the House and the country, while others are dominated by members from particular regions or economic interests. It has often happened, for example, that most of the members of the Committee on Agriculture were farmers or members from rural districts; that the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs was largely composed of members from the "public lands" states and districts; and that spokesmen for the coastal districts have sat on Merchant Marine and Fisheries. Congressmen naturally seek assignment to committees that have jurisdiction over matters of major concern to their districts and states. The effect of this practice tends to give a special-interest character to the composition of these panels.

"It is not far from the truth to say," remarked Woodrow Wilson in 1885, "that Congress in session is Congress on public exhibition, whilst Congress in its committee-rooms is Congress at work."[8] Long located in the Capitol and later also in the House office buildings, the committee rooms have been the chief "workshops" of the House. Here in these spacious chambers with their frescoed domes and swinging chandeliers, their walls adorned with the portraits of former chairmen, their cushioned chairs and long committee table on a raised dais, the visitor sees the fountainhead of the legislative process. Here come the spokesmen for all the competing interests of American society; the lobbyist and the expert, the captain of industry and the labor official, the "war lords" from the Pentagon and the financiers from Wall Street, the cabinet member and the bureau chief, the merchant and the farmer, the lawyer and the judge—all seeking to influence these "little legislatures" whose reports may prescribe the action of the House itself. Here in the committee room is the meeting ground between the public and the Congress, the citizen and the legislator, where hearings have been held since earliest days on a host of legislative proposals designed to meet the needs of a changing society.

Congressional committee hearings as they have developed down through

[8] *Ibid.*, 79.

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the decades have served a variety of practical uses. Their most important function has been to collect facts in order to enable committee members to make informed judgments regarding legislative proposals. Their printed hearings are a gold mine of factual information about all the public problems of the nation. A second use of the hearing process is the safety-valve function: an opportunity for individuals and groups with strong feelings about a matter to "blow off steam," so to speak. In this way social tensions are often relaxed even though legislation may not be the end result. A third use of committee hearings is as a political sounding board for the legislature. They serve as barometers to gauge public opinion and to identify and assess the strength of conviction and relative power of the political forces that are lined up for and against the pending bill. This function helps legislators to estimate the political consequences of their votes on a measure when and if the bill reaches the House floor.

The hearing process may also be used to haze unpopular executive officials, as Secretaries Dean Acheson and Ezra Taft Benson and Director Arthur Larson have learned to their sorrow in recent times. When Mr. Larson, former head of the United States Information Agency, appeared before a Senate Appropriations subcommittee in June 1957 to defend his budget estimates, the following exchange took place:

SENATOR MANSFIELD. Mr. Larson, I have been thinking about this speech you made in Honolulu on April 16 which reads as follows: "Throughout the New and Fair Deals this country was in the grip of a somewhat alien philosophy imported from Europe."

MR. LARSON. Mr. Chairman, does this come under the category of specific justification for items under this budget?

SENATOR JOHNSON. It does not make any difference to the committee what it comes under. You listen to the question and answer, or you are going to win an argument and lose a sale. We do not want to be lectured on how to ask questions. You are here to answer the questions that the Senator chooses to ask and in whatever category he wants to.[9]

In the modern postwar practice the committee hearing has been the scene of some useful innovations. One of these has been to make use of panels of experts to assist committees in clarifying the facts relating to complex legislative problems. During the Eighty-first Congress, for example, the House Select Committee on Lobbying Activities devoted its initial public hearings to the broad academics of problems raised by private agency and executive agency lobbying activities. A panel of four college experts and two specialists

[9] *Hearings before the Senate Subcommittee on Appropriations to the Departments of State and Justice, the Judiciary and Related Agencies,* May 10, 1957, p. 1129.

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from the Library of Congress opened the hearings with a round-table discussion of the role of lobbying in representative self-government. During the Eighty-fourth Congress, when questions arose regarding the safety and efficacy of the Salk vaccine, the National Academy of Sciences cooperated with the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce in selecting a panel of experts who discussed the scientific problems involved in open hearing before the committee under the guidance of an impartial moderator. This technique was so successful that it was repeated in July 1957 at hearings before the Subcommittee on Health and Science, where another panel of experts discussed the scientific problems involved in testing and evaluating the safety of chemical additives. Similarly, panels of leading economists have debated questions of monetary and fiscal policy before subcommittees of the Joint Economic Committee.

Another innovation in committee procedure has been the scheduling of "docket days" at which a committee has invited the authors of bills referred to it to appear at a preliminary hearing early in a session and speak in behalf of their proposals. This procedure serves to give the committee a better understanding of the proposals before it and gives rank and file members of the House a closer working relationship with the committee and its problems. This sensible experiment was launched by the Committee on Foreign Affairs in 1951 and by the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce in 1953.

Another novel technique, occasionally used of late, has been for a committee or subcommittee to hold regional hearings in various parts of the country in order to bring some concrete problem to the attention of grass-roots leaders of opinion and to assemble regional thinking on the subject. In the spring of 1956, for example, Senator Hubert Humphrey's Disarmament Subcommittee held a series of regional hearings, some of them at university centers, where college professors and leading citizens gave the results of their studies of armament problems.

The coming of radio and television and the popularity of legislative broadcasts of the Estes Kefauver crime committee hearings, as well as of the proceedings of the United Nations and several foreign parliaments, led to proposals by Representatives Jacob Javits, George Meader, and others for putting House committee hearings on the air. But Speaker Sam Rayburn ruled in February 1952 that existing rules did not authorize radio broadcasting and televising of hearings before House committees. Perhaps the Speaker felt that it would be unwise to expose these proceedings to such widespread publicity, yet it seems only a question of time before Congress will use radio and television as channels of direct communication with the electorate.

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Congress, a microcosm of the nation, is in turn epitomized in its committees. From a few select panels at the outset, the system has evolved until today there are approximately 270 congressional committees of all types, about equally divided between the chambers. Congressional government is, in large part, government by committee. Is the House well organized internally for the performance of its lawmaking, supervisory, and informing functions? An objective appraisal suggests that the congressional committee system has had both advantages and disadvantages.

At the dawn of the space age, when public problems of bewildering variety and baffling complexity crowd the calendars of the national legislature, the committee system serves the indispensable function of dividing the labor of screening and digesting the legislative proposals to which these problems give rise. A score of standing committees, divided into more than a hundred subcommittees, allows deliberations on many different matters to proceed simultaneously. Thus the first advantage of the system is that it has enabled the House to cover a much wider range of subjects than it could in Committee of the Whole, and to make more extensive use of its members' talents.

In the second place, the committee system has provided invaluable training in the public business by enabling the members to specialize in a few related subject-matter fields. In Congress the individual member has had a chance to learn the legislative trade more easily than his British counterpart by reason of his continuing service on one or two specialized standing committees. Long service on the same committees has developed in the American legislator an expertise that has made him more than a match for the transient department head.

Committee government has also facilitated the close inspection and review of administrative performance that has become a major activity of the Congress. In practice, legislative surveillance of the executive branch has been chiefly exercised by particular committees that have operated as overseers and watchdogs of downtown departments. Such oversight devices as committee investigations, question periods, departmental reports, the requirement of prior committee approval, concurrent resolutions, and demands for documents and testimony have been increasingly used in recent years to implement the "oversight" function of Congress.

Committee hearings have had the further advantage of serving for legislative policy makers as political sounding-boards that enable them to ascertain the intensity of support for and opposition to legislative proposals on the part of interested groups in the country. In a democracy where preponderant public opinion is supposed to be the source of law, this function of discover-

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ing the attitudes of the interested and informed public has obviously been an essential one. In cases where a general consensus had not yet emerged on a legislative proposal or where some regional or sectional group was strongly opposed to a measure, the hearing process has revealed this condition and served at least as a safety valve for the release of social tensions.

The operation of the committee system has been recognized as the heart of congressional activity. Here, in practice, congressmen organized in "little legislatures" have considered legislative and spending proposals, reviewed the operations of administration, and at times themselves initiated new law. Committee work has included hearings as well as discussion in closed meetings. It has involved contact with experts and written material. It has been the center of legislative activity, where criticism of administration and decision upon proposed legislation has usually been made.

On the other hand, the congressional committee system has not been without some drawbacks. These miniature legislatures and their committee chairmen—the "seignories" and their "lord-proprietors," those "elders of the assembly"—have acquired such power and prestige over the years that they have been largely autonomous of the house which created them and whose agents they are supposed to be. In practice, the House and Senate have delegated functions that are the constitutional birthright of Congress as a whole —the making of policy and the conduct of investigations—to their standing committees. The role of the House has to a considerable extent been limited to ratifying decisions that its committees have made.

The autonomy of the committees has given rise in turn to the problem of coordination. Since the committees usually have had a decisive voice in lawmaking, the committee system has encouraged the decentralization of legislative policy formation. Jealous of their jurisdictions and acting independently of each other, these little legislatures have gone their own way at their own pace. The agenda of the House from week to week has depended upon the chance accumulation of committee reports on the House calendars. There has been no central or advance planning of the legislative program, no preparation of a sessional timetable and a schedule of priorities. In the past closer intercommittee coordination might have been deemed desirable in order to avoid jurisdictional disputes, promote consistency and coherence between related areas of legislative policy making, and accelerate the legislative process. The postwar proliferation of subcommittees possibly has carried the process of fission too far—the Committee on Agriculture alone has had sixteen standing subcommittees, one for each crop—and has further complicated the problem of coordination.

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Sometimes committee hearings have been held without adequate advance preparation on the part of the members, the witnesses, or the staff. The staff may have failed to choose the witnesses well or guide them wisely. Witnesses often have not filed advance copies of their statements with the committee and their testimony has not always been succinct, lucid, and pertinent. Sometimes the committeemen have lacked the requisite background information or have failed to study the hearing briefs and ask intelligent questions.

The structural defects in the congressional committee system have not been fatal. In its 1946 report the La Follette-Monroney Committee recommended the creation of party policy committees in both houses. Such committees were set up in the Senate in 1947 to plan the legislative program, coordinate and guide committee activity, focus party leadership, and strengthen party responsibility.[10] And in 1949 the House Republicans converted their steering committee into a policy committee. On net balance, the manifold advantages of the committee system have clearly outweighed the drawbacks.

[10] For an account of their development see Hugh A. Bone, "An Introduction to the Senate Policy Committees," *American Political Science Review*, L (June, 1956), 339–59.

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The Procurement of Oarsmen for French Galleys, 1660-1748

PAUL WALDEN BAMFORD*

THE architects of French naval expansion in the seventeenth century were deeply impressed with the importance of the oar-driven vessel. The galley was widely considered indispensable as an instrument of war; it had played a central role in the naval history of the Mediterranean. Power and prestige were associated with the possession of galleys, and Mediterranean traditions of maritime pageantry and glory were inseparable from the oar. The French had only to look about them to see that every Mediterranean power of any consequence possessed at least a squadron of galleys. Spanish galleys in particular merited their attention, because Spain was the most formidable galley power on the Mediterranean littoral and a dangerous neighbor for France. Cardinal Richelieu's apprehensions about Spain led him to urge the construction of no less than thirty galleys.[1] Jean-Baptiste Colbert actually built such a fleet. His son the Marquis de Seignelay, succeeding him in the ministry, increased that fleet to over forty, for he was convinced, as he said in 1689, that the construction of galleys was "as important for the Royal service as that of vessels."[2] Given the esteem in which the galley was held, the procurement of men to serve galley oars was important, and as a naval problem probably reached its climax for the French while Colbert and his son were at the helm in the Ministry of Marine.

The evolution of this manpower procurement problem can be traced and reasonably well illustrated with the data drawn from archival sources in France. The story has two distinct facets, reflecting the fact that French galley oarsmen were ordinarily of two types, slaves and *forçats*. The slaves were purchased in the markets of Mediterranean Europe, hence there is a wealth of information about them and about their procurement in the correspondence of the French consuls who served as commission buyers of slaves for the *Corps des Galères*. On the other hand, the decisions and correspondence of French ministers and judicial officials can be used to throw light on the

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[1] Armand du Plessis, Cardinal de Richelieu, *Testament politique* (Paris, 1947), 408–409.

[2] Series B^6 21 fol. 189, Archives de la Marine, Archives Nationales. Hereafter cited as B^6, Marine.

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forçat, the second type of galley oarsman. The *forçat* was usually a Frenchman condemned to penal servitude in the galleys, either for a term of years or for life. Included in the group, however, were the Huguenots, sent to the galleys for failure to conform to royal decrees concerning religion. There were also several other varieties of *forçats,* on which comment will be made later.

Both the duality and the varying characteristics of the galley manpower problem are evident in the changing proportions of slaves and *forçats* who served the oar. In the period 1660–1748 the *forçats* always outnumbered the slaves. For example, in the early 1670's the total rowing force of the French galley fleet included about two thousand slaves and 4,500 able-bodied *forçats.*[3] Thereafter, as the cost and difficulty of procurement increased, the proportion of slaves gradually declined. In the years 1684 to 1688 nearly 4,900 new *forçats,* but only 1,400 slaves, were added to the rowing force.[4] The changing proportions of these two types of oarsmen may be regarded as an indication of the increasing difficulties attending the purchase of slaves and the increasing ease with which *forçats* were obtained. In this essay the character of the difficulties peculiar to the Mediterranean slave trade and the nature of the reliance placed on slave labor will be outlined; then the *forçat* procurement system, supplying as it did the bulk of the manpower for galley oars, will be considered.

Slaves were designated as the "elite" of the oar. Mohammedans from North Africa, known as "Turks," most often served in that capacity, and were the most highly esteemed variety of slave.[5] Their physical prowess became proverbial in France, and still persists in the common phrase *fort comme un Turc.* It was said that they were "tall, extremely vigorous, very resistant to fatigue," and much more suitable than *forçats* for the oar.[6] Turks usually held places as "first oarsmen" (*espaliers*) who set the pace that the others were obliged to follow in the harmonious, regular movement of oars. Turks were also preferred for the farthest inboard places on other oars, those most fatiguing and difficult. It was considered highly desirable, when the number on hand permitted, to mix Turks throughout the entire rowing force so they could set a good example of vigor for others.

[3] Series B^1 376, Consul to Minister, Aug. 19, 1670, Archives des Affaires Étrangères (Consular Collection), Archives Nationales (hereafter cited as B^1, Aff. Étr.); "État de la Chiourme des Galères du Roy" (1673), B^6 173, Marine.

[4] B^6 86, fols. 240–46, Marine.

[5] "The Berbers," remarked one memoirist, "are the best of them all." B^6 78, fol. 133, Marine. "Nothing," said Colbert, "is more important for the reestablishment of the rowing force than Turks." Jean-Baptiste Colbert, *Lettres instructions et mémoires,* ed. Pierre Clément (8 vols. in 10, Paris, 1861–82), III, pt. 1, pp. 12, 27–28.

[6] B^6 135, fol. 227, Marine.

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Although most of the slaves aboard French galleys were Turks, a few other men also served. In the late 1660's a scattering of "schismatic" Russians and Greeks were used; and a decade later several hundred West African Negroes were brought to Marseille for the oar.[7] In the 1680's a few American Iroquois Indians were brought from Canada, though with so little success (and such dire consequences for French-Indian relations) that in 1689 Frontenac returned them to Canada.[8] These experiments served little purpose beyond confirming the prevailing preference for the use of Turks, even though they usually had to be purchased at high prices.

There were only two Mediterranean slave markets where French naval buying was long sustained in considerable volume: Malta and the north Italian port of Leghorn. Malta, as headquarters for the crusading Knights of St. John, or Knights of Malta as they were called, sent galleys out each year to prey on Mohammedan shipping and coastal populations. Their prizes and plunder helped to finance the expeditions and to maintain the Order. Their Turkish and North African captives were held for ransom or used to replenish the rowing force on the Knights' own galleys; the remainder were sold on the Malta slave market to individual cavaliers or foreign buyers. Individual privateers who put in to the harbors of Valletta also supplied the market with slaves. For at least a decade after 1664, French buying efforts in this market were energetic and moderately productive. During the 1670's they purchased as many as a hundred slaves a year on the island,[9] but thereafter activity in the Malta market declined. The Chevalier d'Escrainville, during fifteen years of service as a consul-buyer (1682–97), supplied less than two hundred slaves from Malta.[10] His career marked the decline of the market so far as the French were concerned.

The port of Leghorn was far more important than Malta as a regular source of supply for slaves. Leghorn specialized in the slave trade, and the buying activities of French consuls at that port illustrate the way the trade was conducted at a major market of the period. The French consuls regularly bought slaves for the king on a commission basis, which was usually 2 per cent.[11] One troublesome problem they faced as buyers was the competition of

[7] Colbert, *Lettres,* III, p. 1, 57n., 188; G. B. Depping, ed., *Correspondance administrative sous le règne de Louis* XIV (4 vols., Paris, 1850–55), II, 927n.; Consul to Minister, June 8, Sept. 20, Nov. 13, 1674, B[1] 814, Aff. Étr.; B[6] 14, fols. 92, 249, 257; B[6] 15, fol. 20, Marine.

[8] Ernest Lavisse, "Sur les galères du roi," *Revue de Paris,* IV (Nov. 15, 1897), 234; G. M. Wrong, *The Rise and Fall of New France* (2 vols., New York, 1928), II, 504 ff.

[9] Letters of the Chevailer de Gout, Mar. 11, 18; Apr. 24, 29, 1664; Consul to Minister, July 24, 1673, B[1] 814, Aff. Étr.

[10] Escrainville to Minister, Nov. 9, 1697, B[1] 814, *ibid.;* Colbert, *Lettres,* III, pt. 1, p. 39. On the slave traffic in general, see Jean Mathiex, "Trafic et prix de l'homme en Mediterranée aux XVII[e] et XVIII[e] siècles," *Annales,* IX Apr.–June 1954), 157–64.

[11] This modest fee was supplemented by occasional *gratifications* doled out by the ministry and by certain benefits of an "unofficial" character.

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others in the market, including that from other French buyers whose bidding naturally tended to raise prices and to interfere with purchasing. Time and again French consuls complained to the minister about the Spanish buyers and about Neapolitan, Genoese, Tuscan, and even English competition. But most of all they complained of the French, and it was on consular insistence that an *Ordonnance* was issued in France in 1678 forbidding French merchants to buy Turkish slaves, directly or indirectly, at Leghorn and Genoa and neighboring places.[12]

Once purchased, slaves were both a problem and a source of profit for the consul. Transportation was one of the problems. Many merchant ship captains were reluctant to take them, and some would not have them aboard at all.[13] Slaves were dangerous merchandise, and if a merchantman with Turks aboard was captured by a Moslem corsair, there might be unpleasant consequences for the captain and crew. As a risk, this was far less serious at Leghorn than at other ports more distant from France with communications more exposed. At Leghorn, moreover, the squadrons of French galleys that cruised the north Italian coast could be used for the slaves on hand, though the galleys could be expected to appear only in the summer months. Various circumstances added to the delays and difficulties of getting slaves from the market to Marseille. But delay was far from being a burden to the consul; it was more apt to be a positive benefit. With reasonably good management, he could profit substantially by hiring the slaves out as labor while awaiting shipment. They could usually earn much more than their subsistence, and anything beyond maintenance, for which the consul was responsible, he could appropriate.[14] Considering the numbers of slaves and the several months' delay that could be involved, the consul's personal gain could be substantial indeed. Of course, illness or accident could befall a slave while in the consul's hands, but that risk was not great. Slaves selected for purchase ordinarily went through a period of quarantine before the contract was concluded. Illness might involve some loss of wages.[15] The monetary loss involved by the death of a slave was usually assumed by the king, although it was technically the consul's responsibility. But such an event was very apt to bring a reprimand, as it did for Consul François Cotolendy in 1682 when the minister conveyed to him the royal dissatisfaction. "It is extraordinary that five [slaves] should have died while on your hands, and that you should have bought a cripple. This indicates extreme negligence on your part in the inspection made

[12] *Ordonnance* of Feb. 15, 1678, in A^3 12, fol. 91, Marine.
[13] B^6 78, fols. 112–13, *ibid.*; Caignart to Minister, Mar. 1, 1692, B^1 700, Aff. Étr.
[14] François Cotolendy to Minister, Nov. 22, 1690. B^1 699, Aff. Étr.
[15] July 14, 1690, *ibid.*

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before purchase."[16] It was even more extraordinary that five others should have died on the hands of the consul at Genoa the month before! The minister suspected roguery.

In other respects, too, the king paid heavily for the services of his consular buyers. They commonly bought slaves through intermediaries, a procedure necessary to circumvent treaties and avoid difficulties with the Ottoman government and its North African tributaries. Though superficially effective in disguising French buying, these methods involved multiplication of intermediary and merchant services, and added costs. For the sake of safety in shipment, or for that of the ship employed, the slave ownership was obscured by use of names other than that of the consul, with an official destination other than Marseille. These arrangements likewise involved added costs.[17] And behind the complex façade of indirect purchase, disguised ownership, and fictitious destination intended to "delude" the Ottoman government and North African potentates, the consul could delude the minister. Indirect purchase offered some of the opportunities for peculation and profiteering for which consuls were notorious,[18] and the king paid higher prices for slaves in consequence. But after all, could a consul who had purchased his post be expected to burden himself with all the details of slave purchase and shipment for a trifling official commission of 2 per cent?

The prices paid for slaves in Mediterranean markets naturally reflected the quality of the "merchandise" involved in individual transactions, but prices generally tended to increase in the second half of the seventeenth century, particularly in the 1680's. The general rise reflected an increase in the demand for slaves and a coincidental decrease in the number of Turks on the market.[19] The French Ministry of Marine resisted pressure for higher prices in spite of warnings from French consuls at Malta and in Italy that slaves were not available at the prices the ministry was willing to pay. Demand, said the consults, was keen because new preparations for war with the Turks were under way at Venetian, Spanish, Papal, and Tuscan galley bases.[20] In

[16] B[6] 14, fol. 97; cf. fols. 62, 68–70, Marine.

[17] Depping, *Correspondance,* II, 885n., details some of the costs involved in various phases of slave purchase.

[18] On the abuses of the consuls both before and after the consular "reforms" of Colbert and Seignelay, see Paul Masson, *Histoire du commerce français dans le Levant au* XVII[e] *siècle* (Paris, 1897), 148–57, 244–47.

[19] This resulted in part from the treaties concluded between the Barbary States and certain Christian powers, whose naval and privateering operations had previously supplied numerous slaves: England with Tripoli (1676) and Algiers (1682); the Dutch with Algiers (1680). Cotolendy to Minister, May 17, 1680, B[1] 697; Mar. 12, 1683, B[1] 698, Aff. Étr.; Sir Godfrey Fisher, *Barbary Legend: War, Trade, and Piracy in North Africa,* 1415–1830 (Oxford, Eng., 1957), 264–65, 267–68.

[20] Consul to Minister, Aug. 3, Oct. 6, 1684; July 10, 1685, B[1] 814; another consul to Minister, Jan. 9, 1683, B[1] 1158, Aff. Étr.; B[6] 14, fols. 44, 129, Marine; M. A. Bragadin, *Histoire des républiques maritimes Italiens,* tr. R. Juffé and R. Jouan (Paris, 1955), 235–36.

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the face of such demand, French slave purchases in 1684 and 1685 were far below actual needs.[21]

Yet even as French buying stood at low ebb, active campaigning by French galleys "used up" oarsmen, and expansion of the French galley establishment intensified the need for manpower.[22] The shortage of French galley oarsmen was so keenly felt in 1684–1686 that the Minister of Marine took extraordinary steps to find men. Outside France he solicited *forçats* from the Duke of Savoy,[23] and offered to buy Turkish prisoners of war from the King of Poland.[24] He requested permission to buy and export Turks from Venice,[25] and ordered that American Indians be brought from Canada for use as oarsmen.[26] Within France he solicited and obtained from the King an *Ordonnance* substituting condemnation to the galleys for the death penalty in cases of army desertion.[27] He may also have solicited, and in any case must have welcomed, the galley penalties attaching to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes and the various other royal measures dating from May 1682 that prescribed religious conformity.[28] It was obvious that such decrees on army desertion and religious matters would be disobeyed; the galley penalties for which they provided were certain to produce recruits for the oar. The *forçats* they actually did produce [29] made practicable the decision to increase

[21] B^6 86, fols. 240–46, Marine.

[22] Fol. 485, *ibid.*; B^6 86, fol. 428, Marine; Charles de la Roncière, *Histoire de la marine française* (6 vols., Paris, 1899–1932), V, 706 ff.; VI, 2–17, *passim*.

[23] B^6 17, fols. 16–17, Marine.

[24] "Considering that the increase in the number of royal galleys is making *forçats* much more rare and difficult to obtain, His Majesty has agreed to the proposition I made to Him, of writing to you to learn whether or not it is possible to obtain Turks and Tartars from Poland." Seignelay to the Marquis de Bethune, Nov. 12, 1686, misdated or misplaced in this bound volume of orders and dispatches for 1685, B^6 17, fol. 485, Marine.

[25] Denis de la Haye to Minister, Dec. 29, 1685, Jan. 5, 1686, with "Résponse du 16 mars au Mémoire presente le 3 Janvier. 86" and Consul to Minister, June 1, 1686, B^1 1158, Aff. Étr.

[26] Wrong, *New France*, II, 504 ff.; Lavisse, "Galères du roi," 234.

[27] B^6 115, fols. 101–102, Marine.

[28] *Déclarations*, dated May 12, 1682, June 16, 1685, and the well-known *Édit portant révocation de l' Édit de Nantes*, Oct. 1685, *Recueil général des anciennes lois françaises depuis l'an 420 jusqu'à la Révolution de 1789*, ed. F.-A. Isambert, A.-J.-L. Jourdan, *et al.* (29 vols., Paris, 1821–33), XIX, 388, 510, 532–34. There were later amendments, notably the *Déclaration* of May 14, 1724, XXI, 261–70.

[29] "Mémoire à Monseigneur sur la Validité et la force des Chiourmes," Dec. 27, 1688, B^6 86, fols. 240–46, Marine, includes the following accounting of *forçat* and slave acquisitions:

Year	Forçats	Slaves	Total
1684	480	43	523
1685	999	84	1,083
1686	1,379	108	1,487
1687	1,014	826	1,840
1688	998	340	1,338
	4,870	1,401	6,271

This memoirist alluded, in passing, to the fact that the increases during 1685–1687 resulted from the influx of large numbers of deserters and *religionnaires* (fol. 242).

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the size of the French fleet to thirty-eight and later to forty galleys.[30] This mass of new *forçat* manpower had the incidental effect of increasing the need for additional Turks to provide the "elite" traditionally needed to upgrade *forçat* performance. Slave purchases therefore rose to what was probably an all-time high in 1687–1688 with 1,166 Turks added to the rowing force in those two years.[31] The high level of these purchases was probably maintained during the early 1690's, but buying fell off sharply in the second half of that decade, and, for reasons that will be presented, dropped precipitously in 1700.

Turning to the discussion of the *forçat* procurement system, it might be remarked at the outset that the use of convict labor was probably introduced in French galleys as early as the fifteenth century,[32] but in the seventeenth century the system retained many of its advantages, of which Colbert was well aware. It was obvious that criminals could be obtained with greater ease than slaves. There were advantages in working them in the galleys instead of having them tortured and maimed, or letting them languish uselessly in dungeons. And *forçats* were cheap, compared with slaves. Colbert exerted pressure on judicial officials to use their powers to increase the number of men sent to the galleys.[33] In the absence of a criminal code, such pressure from a minister had special significance in France. The magistrates "alone had the power to declare what was crime" and to say what penal consequences should follow from such acts; their opinions, rendered in judgment of an accused, were the law for the case concerned.[34] But their use of discretionary powers could be influenced and even determined by royal authority; as a representative of that authority, Colbert molded their actions in many ways by his pressure to satisfy the manpower needs of the galleys.

It seemed to Colbert that French magistrates inflicted the death penalty with excessive frequency; the result was needless waste. In 1662 he strongly urged them to condemn able-bodied convicts to the galleys instead.[35] Among the many crimes punishable by death were desertions from the army and navy, and of course Colbert and his son Seignelay endeavored especially to have those penalties commuted. As noted earlier, it was Seignelay who sought,

[30] Fifteen additional French galleys were built on the Atlantic seaboard during 1689–1690, with most of their rowing force brought from Marseille. B[6], 86–87, *passim*, Marine.

[31] See fn. 29 above.

[32] Jacques Coeur, the powerful fifteenth-century merchant-banker, is supposed to have introduced convict labor on his galleys in 1443, when he obtained from Charles VII the right to seize and force "vagabonds and other low people [*caimans*] to serve along with the slaves on his merchant galleys." Roncière, *Marine française*, II, 277–78.

[33] Colbert, *Lettres*, III, pt. 1, p. 1.

[34] Carl Ludwig von Bar *et al.*, *A History of Continental Criminal Law* (London, 1916), 263. See also 259–64, *passim*.

[35] Colbert, *Lettres*, III, pt. 1, p. 11n.

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in the mid-1680's, to have the penalty for army desertion changed. As one naval officer later remarked, Louis XIV was "touched by the representations of M. de Seignelay that 8,000 men had been executed [for desertion from the army] in a single year."[36] In consequence, he issued an *Ordonnance* in 1684 moderating that penalty so that "in the future all deserters from the troops will be condemned to have their nose and ears cut off, marked with a *fleur-de-lis* on each cheek, and sent to the galleys [for life]."[37] That measure helped for many years to increase the rowing force. Without it, one commentator asserted, "it would not have been possible to man forty galleys."[38] Support for that assertion comes from a register of *condamnés* for the years 1691–1715. Deserters (from both services, apparently) not only constituted the largest single group, but represented over two-thirds of the names on the list.[39] In 1717 the death penalty for desertion was reestablished,[40] but the obvious value of deserters at the galley oar led the Ministry of Marine to seek, in 1723 and again in the 1740's, to have the more moderate and useful galley penalty reestablished.[41] In 1749, after the *Corps des Galères* had been formally abolished, the desertion penalty finally was changed to that of *galères des terres*.[42]

Since the distinction between crime and misdemeanor (*délit*) was uncertain, a wide range of lesser offenses could also be punished by consignment to the galleys. The penalty of galleys *à perpetuité* was imposed for bigamy, theft, forgery, salt smuggling, and a considerable number of lesser offenses. In the register of men condemned in the period 1691–1715, mentioned above, theft was second only to desertion as a ground for condemnation to life in the galleys.[43] Such crimes as blasphemy, perjury, and falsehood could likewise receive life terms. The roll was further lengthened, as late as 1739, by the inclusion of men serving for unspecified reasons, "after trial," "*sans*

[36] B^6 115, fols. 101–102, Marine. Army deserters were used in the 1660's, under an evidently temporary statutory authorization. It was then said: "If deserters from the army continue to be sent to the galleys, our needs will soon be filled." Depping, *Correspondance*, II, 927.

[37] *Ordonnance*, Dec. 4, 1684, A^3 12, fol. 127, Marine; *Recueil général*, XIX, 465. In the year following, a galley officer commented that he had received six deserters "who are all young and will do good service." He remarked, however, that "if the severity practiced of not leaving any part of the nose on the face is relaxed, they will [in the future] be better, because it is noticed, Monseigneur, that after a little work the difficulty of breathing notably diminishes their strength, so that they have to be relieved." B^6 85, fol. 253, Marine.

[38] B^6 115, fols. 101–102, Marine.

[39] "Matricule ou Rolle général des Forçats qui Existent sur les Galères du Roy Le Premier Janvier 1739," comprising the name, reasons for condemnation, and date thereof, with the age and status of *forçats* whose original condemnations had taken place since 1691, and who were still on the galleys in 1739. D^5 2, *ibid.*

[40] *Ordonnance*, Jan. 2, 1717, *Recueil général*, XXI, 127.

[41] B^6 115, fols. 101–102; B^6 125, fols. 209–10, Marine.

[42] Comte d'Estrées to Minister, June 2, 1749, B^6 142, Marine.

[43] *"Matricule," passim*, D^5 2, Marine.

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dire pourquoy," or even when "suspected" or "accused" of some crime.[44]

Actually, one need not have committed any crime to be sent to the galleys;[45] to be apprehended for mendicancy or vagabondage was sometimes sufficient reason. In Colbert's opinion, such behavior was, if not a crime in law, nonetheless reprehensible and deserving of correction. He shared the opinion of Intendant Nicolas Arnoul, who remarked to him that if vagabonds and other do-nothings were put into the galleys "the world would be unburdened of the rubbish with which it is so heavily charged."[46] That, responded Colbert, was "difficult . . . because there are no ordinances by which they incur that penalty, at least unless they are arrested for some crime."[47] This difficulty, if such it could be called, was overcome later, when an *arrêt du conseil* ordered that vagabonds and other vagrants (*gens sans aveu*) be consigned to the galleys "without any ceremony or form of proceedings at law."[48] Action against bohemians, vagrants, vagabonds, beggars, and especially "sturdy beggars," was grounded on the conviction that idleness makes men a burden to the state and leads to public disorders. Both these evils were avoided when such culprits were put to the oar.

As has already been noted, legislation directed against the *Religion Pretendue Reformée* (as French Protestantism was called)[49] afforded the statutory basis for condemnations to the French galleys. Such cases could nearly always be classed in one of three categories: conducting (sometimes mere presence at) an assemblage of the *RPR,* harboring a pastor, or attempting to leave the kingdom.[50] Although French Protestant historians have devoted considerable scholarly labor to the search, they apparently found no official statistics giving the proportion of Protestants serving in the galleys who were condemned on grounds of their Protestantism alone. Some fragmentary pieces of evidence include all Protestants, without distinguishing those condemned on grounds other than, or in addition to, religious infraction. One seventeenth-century Protestant writer who was himself condemned estimated that six hundred

[44] *Ibid.* Earlier, in 1666, *the Prévôt de L'Isle* wrote to Colbert reporting on three men accused of theft. The leader, he said, "has sustained *la question ordinaire extraordinaire* [torture] without being willing to accuse his accomplices. They, nevertheless, have since been condemned to *la question ordinaire extraordinaire,* and in the event they confess nothing, one will be sent [to the galleys] for nine years, the others *à perpetuité.*" Depping, *Correspondance,* II, 933.

[45] About 1669 inquiry was made as to the number of men in the galleys without condemnation or conviction of any legal kind. Intendant Nicolas Arnoul reported: "There are, to my knowledge, perhaps four or five. A father has put his son in to correct him. . . . M. de Pile has put a carpenter to the chain; M. de Martel another, *etc.*" B[4] 3, fol. 379, Marine.

[46] Depping, *Correspondance,* II, 910.

[47] Colbert, *Lettres,* III, pt. 1, p. 56.

[48] A[8] 12, fol. 41; B[6] 14, fol. 12, Marine; Colbert, *Lettres,* III, pt. 1, 502n.; C. W. Cole, *Colbert and a Century of French Mercantilism* (2 vols., New York, 1939), II, 473.

[49] Hence the initials *RPR,* often used in official documents to designate French Protestantism in the period, along with *RC, A et R. (Religion Catholique, Apostolique et Roman).*

[50] *Recueil général,* XIX, 388, 510, 532–34; XXI, 261–70.

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Protestants were on the galleys as early as June 1685.[51] This number greatly increased because of condemnations during the two or three years immediately following. Thereafter the tide of *religionnaires* fell off sharply. It was estimated in 1701 that Protestant *condamnés* at Marseille numbered about three hundred;[52] on the eve of the foreign-sanctioned liberations of 1713, they were said to number 310 in a total rowing force of about 5,700.[53] Scattered additional condemnations took place in the half century that followed, making a grand total that "considerably exceeded 2,000," according to the careful estimate of the Protestant historian Tournier and others.[54]

To supplement the services of his own subjects, Louis XIV used some *forçats* obtained outside of France from foreign princes who had no galleys of their own. The ducal dynasty of Savoy, for example, periodically supplied convicts for service in French galleys before 1690, but sometimes complained about failures to release *forçats* at the expiration of their terms of condemnation and about other irregularities.[55] In the eighteenth century amicable relations with the King of Poland (Louis XV's father-in-law) and Her Electoral Highness Countess Palatine led those rulers to "ask permission" to send their convicts to French galleys.[56] Bourbon family ties also underlay the temporary transfer of some hundreds of "homeless" Spanish *galeriens* to France in 1742, after a raid by an English squadron had burned five Spanish galleys at St. Tropez.[57]

Of considerably greater importance, both in terms of continuity of supply and the numbers of men involved, was the use of Christian prisoners of war as *forçats*. Fragments of Richelieu's correspondence with Sourdis suggest that numerous Spanish and Portuguese prisoners of war served on French galleys during the later years of the Thirty Years' War;[58] and in 1659 a *lettre du Roi* authorized the release of numerous prisoners of war who had served on French galleys for "many years."[59] As that royal letter suggests, such galley workers were not always released immediately after the signature of the treaties concluding peace. Indeed, negotiations were under way in 1684, six

[51] Cited by Gaston Tournier, *Les Galères de France et les galeriens protestants des* XVII^e *et* XVIII^e *siècles* (3 vols., Cevennes, 1943–49), I, 65. This figure seems reasonable in light of the fact that 2,378 new *condemnées* ("good and bad for the oar") arrived at Marseille in the two full years 1685 and 1686 (the revocation was issued in October 1685). The number of *forçats* arriving at Marseille in earlier years was said to have been from five to six hundred a year.

[52] *Ibid.* I, 67.

[53] At the instigation of the British government, 136 or more were liberated in 1713. *Ibid.*

[54] *Ibid.*, 68. Volumes I–III contain well over two thousand case histories.

[55] Colbert, *Lettres,* III, pt. 1, pp. 188, 550–51; Depping, *Correspondance,* II, 929.

[56] B^3 333, fols 499–500; B^6 124, fols 241–42, Marine.

[57] B^3 410, fols. 403 ff.; 441, fols. 52–54; 417, fol. 269 ff., Marine.

[58] *Correspondance et dépêches de Henri d'Escoubleau de Sourdis,* ed. E. Sue (3 vols., Paris, 1839), I, 527–28, with Richelieu's approval of prisoner of war releases on condition that a ransom be paid and a substitute be furnished in each case.

[59] *Lettre du Roi,* June 26, 1659, B^6 1, fol. 30, Marine.

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years after the Treaty of Nimwegen, to arrange the mutual release of war prisoners held by France and Spain on board their respective galleys since the previous war.[60] Even those belated conversations may not have effected the release of all the prisoners held, since the Spanish ambassador to France asked as late as 1688 that Spanish subjects then serving on French galleys be liberated. When that request was finally brought under consideration at Versailles in December 1689, the Minister of Marine had to write to Marseille requesting information concerning "those that had survived."[61] In 1691 a treaty was signed between France and Spain providing for the mutual exchange of "navy prisoners," but the French envoy sent to implement this agreement received private instructions to delay and obstruct its execution without appearing to do so, since it was estimated that fewer Frenchmen were serving on Spanish galleys than were Spaniards on those of France.[62]

Many men arriving at Marseille were found to be physically incapable of useful service. To send such men occasions needless expense, said Colbert. "Care must be taken that *condamnés* have the health and strength to serve well."[63] A circular of 1672 to that effect recommended that no criminal over fifty-five be sent to the galleys unless he had "the necessary health."[64] Nor should the *condamnés* be too young; at a deliberation of the *Conseil de la marine* complaint was made about the fact that five boys had been attached to the last Brittany chain, the eldest of whom was not yet fifteen.[65] Equally burdensome and useless for the oar were the sick and the crippled. Men maimed or disabled in arm or leg, or those with hernias, were not wanted at Marseille.[66]

Men judged suitable for the oar at the time of their condemnation were not apt to remain able-bodied for long in the usual run of seventeenth-century prisons in France (or elsewhere). As the Count of Roanes explained, in describing a group of *condamnés* newly arrived for the galleys, some were thin and tired "only because they have stayed too long in the prisons after their condemnations, laden with irons in dungeons, and without having

[60] B[6] 16, fol. 134, *ibid.*
[61] B[6] 21, fol. 204, *ibid.*
[62] B[6] 23, fol. 333, *ibid.*
[63] Colbert, *Lettres,* III, pt. 1, p. 280.
[64] *Ibid.,* 390n.
[65] Such lads, it was stated, "cannot render any service on the galleys; on the contrary, they are led by the convicts and Turks to crimes which are only too common on the galleys. Hitherto it has been customary to liberate them and use them around the arsenal. But since there is reason to fear that in returning to their homes they will fall again into the same bad habits, it is decided . . . to send them as *engagés* [indentured servants] to the [West Indies] Islands." B[1] 1, fol. 393, Marine.
[66] Colbert warned, however, that although physical disability was a reason for omitting to send men to the galleys, it should not serve as a pretext for escaping the "more rigorous" penalty of death, if merited. Colbert, *Lettres,* III, pt. 2, p. 62n.

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enough bread and water to nourish them."[67] Prisoners were then neither suitable nor usually intended for long-term incarcerations; galleys, rather than dungeons, were ordinarily intended to serve that purpose in France.[68]

Men destined for the galleys were chained together in groups of fifty or a hundred, or several hundred, and marched to Marseille in the charge of a conductor. The chains, as these troupes of *condamnés* were called, were badly organized and poorly controlled before Colbert came to power; they departed at irregular intervals and traveled uncertain routes. Colbert reorganized the service, as he did a good many others, and established itineraries for the principal chains, and branch routes to gather scattered *condamnés* from prisons situated off the principal arteries. Two major chains were established. One, the so-called Paris chain, moved up the Seine Valley gathering *condamnés* from all over northern and northeastern France as far as Dijon, traveled south to Chalons-sur-Saône, then usually by boat southward down the Rhone as far as Avignon, and thence overland to Marseille. The Brittany chain originated at Rennes, gathered *condamnés* as it moved up through the Loire Valley, and finally reached Lyons, whence it also followed the Rhone southward.

In the 1670's, when large numbers of *condamnés* became available in southwestern France, the so-called Guyenne (or Bordeaux) chain developed. Originating at Bordeaux, it followed the Garonne Valley southeast as far as Toulouse, and thence reached the Mediterranean. *Condamnés* from the prisons of Languedoc, Avignon, and Provence converged on Marseille in small groups, often conducted by guards from local prisons. Those who joined a chain earliest naturally marched the greatest distances. A man in the Paris chain might trudge fully 550 kilometers during the usual trek of twenty-six to twenty-eight days.[69] On the march each *condamné* was collared with a thick band of iron about the neck, and linked in a double file with his fellows along the length of a heavy central chain. The iron collar and chains for each man ordinarily weighed more than 150 pounds.[70] The weight of the irons combined with the distance traversed made it unusual for a chain to complete the march without fatalities.[71]

[67] B[4] 15, fol. 471, Marine.

[68] The intendant of Poitou, reporting twenty "'good and vigorous'" *condamnés* on hand, asked that they be taken soon, "'the sooner the better, so that they won't die, and because the judges are more disposed to give this penalty when they see that their prisons do not remain long encumbered with *condemnées.*'" Quoted by Lavisse, "Galères du roi," 245.

[69] B[6] 82, fol. 162, Marine. The approximately three hundred kilometers from Chalon-sur-Saône to Avignon were usually traversed by boat.

[70] According to Lavisse, 150 livres, (about 165 pounds), 247. One reforming intendant recommended that the weight of the chains should not exceed forty kilos.

[71] As early as 1662 a scheme was proposed to transport criminals from the Atlantic to Marseille by ship, instead of overland in chains. Depping, *Correspondance,* II, 876–77. Recurrent wars with Spain militated against putting the idea into practice.

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The burdens of this system extended beyond the weight of the irons to include many connected with recruitment and with the remuneration of the men who conducted the chains. Understandably, conductors were a hard and brutal lot; such employment would hardly have attracted sensitive spirits. "The best of them," as the Marquis de Ternes observed, was "much more concerned with his own interests than with good and loyal service."[72] The system under which they worked was intended to assure effective service and at the same time guard the royal financial interests from damage at the hands of unscrupulous conductors. But the interests of the *forçats* were not similarly protected. Indeed, the system actually encouraged greed and self-interested brutality on the part of conductors. They were paid a fixed sum for every living *condamné* delivered at Marseille, regardless of physical condition. This per capita fee was intended to cover all expenses during the march: subsistence and housing for the chain, carts and drivers for the sick and exhausted, horses for the conductor and his assistants, wages of assistant conductors and guards, and the cost of the boats used in descending the Rhone. Anything beyond such expenses was the conductor's remuneration; hence it behooved him to keep their cost as low as possible and to provide as few as possible.[73]

In the 1680's, humane Intendant Michel Begon tried without much success to stamp out abusive practices.[74] He was particularly insistent that conductors must not "retrench anything" on the daily ration prescribed by

[72] *Ibid.*, 935.

[73] Following is an itemized list of the expenditures ordinarily involved in conducting a chain of one hundred men from Paris to the galley base at Marseille, with total cost estimates based on a twenty-six-day trip in 1676:

Collar and chains for each man at 6 livres each	600 livres
Two argousins (asst. conductors), at 50 sols each per day, or 5 livres per day, for twenty-six days	130 livres
Twelve guards at 30 sols each, or 18 livres per day, for twenty-six days	468 livres
One driver, at 26 sols per day, for twenty-six days	32 livres
Three horses at 3 livres per day, twenty-six days	78 livres
Food for one hundred prisoners at 2 sols each per day, 10 livres per day, for twenty-six days	260 livres
Food for conductor, at 50 sols per day, twenty-six days	65 livres
Candles (burned all night) and straw to bed the *forçats*, at 40 sols per day, for twenty-six days	52 livres
Boats, Chalon to Avignon	300 livres
	1,985 livres
Incidentals and cost of return (estimated)	500 livres
	2,485 livres

These estimates appear high in many particulars, as might be expected in a *mémoire* whose author was seeking to show that conductors were not overpaid at thirty livres a head for delivered *condamnés*. B[6] 82, fol. 169, Marine. Local residents were obliged to furnish shelter for the chain en route, usually stables or a barn.

[74] See Yvonne Bezard, *Fonctionnaires maritimes et coloniaux sous Louis XIV: Les Begon* (Paris, 1932), 67–69, and ch. IV, *passim*.

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royal order for each *condamné:* thirty-two ounces of fresh bread, a half pound of beans, and a half pint of wine (to cost a total of two sous).[75] Begon was no less insistent that these rations be divided equally.

> . . . Conductors and guards are forbidden to apply any part to their own profit, on pain of the galleys; nor can they exact anything from *condamnés* for good treatment, or on the pretext of *"collier"* or "soap," which are the terms they use to appropriate all the money they can get.

He added that conductors must also "provide carts for the sick without requiring any payment from those who ride."[76] But it was easier to legislate than to regulate the behavior of conductors. The abuses did not disappear, as continuing official complaints about conductors attest.

In addition to other burdens, the *condemnées* often bore the brunt of the weather, and for ill-fed and ill-clad men on the march, winter weather could be deadly. As early as 1663 doubt was expressed by an intendant at Marseille as to the advisability of dispatching chains in the winter months.[77]

It was evidently understood that winter weather could be blamed for fatalities, but that fact did not prevent the frequent dispatch of winter chains in later years. Efforts in 1683 to fix April and September as the regular months for the departure of chains were unsuccessful.[78] As late as 1712, when a January chain of 313 arrived at Marseille after losing fifty-six dead along the road, the intendant reported that the chain appeared, in general, "very good," but added that "it is not yet possible to judge precisely the state of this chain."[79] A December chain of 353 arrived the next year, having lost ten en route.[80] By the 1740's, however, the chains were leaving regularly on the more desirable April and September schedules.

It is not possible to indicate with any precision what proportion of the *condamnés* arriving at Marseille eventually proved fit to serve an oar. But mortality en route and temporary infirmity on arrival were certainly more frequent in the period 1660–1700 than in the half century thereafter. It was to the earlier period that Begon referred when he commented that unquestionably "more than half [of the *condamnés*] perish or become disabled for galley service before their first campaign" at sea.[81] During the eighteenth cen-

[75] Michel Begon (1638–1710), Intendant des Galères at Marseille, 1685–88, B[6] 85, fols. 296, *et passim,* Marine: Bezard, *Fonctionnaires maritimes,* 67–69.

[76] "Reglement pour la conduite des chaisnes des condamnes aux Galeres," Feb. 18, 1686, A[3] 12; B[6] 85, fol. 296, Marine.

[77] The intendant noted that of sixty-four in one chain, eighteen had died on the road and two after having liberated. B[6] 77, fol. 342, *ibid.*

[78] B[6] 15, fols. 16, 32, *ibid.;* Depping, *Correspondence,* II, 942.

[79] He stated, however, "These men are completely fatigued." B[6] 105, fol. 320, Marine.

[80] Of those who reached Marseille, eigthty-eight were in the hospital the day after their arrival. B[6] 108, fol. 18, *ibid.*

[81] B[6] 85, fol. 294, *ibid.*

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tury the condition of chains gradually improved. Mortality en route in the 1740's ranged from less than 1 to 3 per cent; and a comparable decline took place in the incidence of sickness and disability.[82] Notable indications of improvement are apparent in a letter of 1744, in which a provincial intendant complained that conductors were too lenient and that in using too many vehicles for robust young *condamnés,* they burdened the local populace.[83]

Having once begun to serve in Louis XIV's galleys, the *condamné* was likely to continue to do so during the rest of his active life. Neither reprieve nor release was likely on the basis of evidence brought to light after condemnation or on the claim that a new trial was justified. These were considered mere pretexts, against which Colbert warned galley officials.[84] In general, releases from the galleys were uncommon except when outside influence was involved or when infirmity or age produced disability. Most regulations pertaining to releases were contradictory, uncertain in practice, or negative. They reflected preoccupation with the need to retain able-bodied, experienced manpower at the oar. It was the general rule that no releases were granted for second offenders or in cases involving "atrocious" crimes such as *lèse majesté,* or where galley service represented commutation of another penalty. Release of the offender and his return to society was obviously not anticipated in the cases of condemnation to life on the galleys; that penalty was interpreted in law as civil death. At least in theory, no Protestant was ever to be released, though in actual practice hundreds were released with the stipulation that they must leave France permanently.[85] Lesser offenders usually could not obtain release unless they had given long service, often far exceeding the stated term. In general, the three questions apt to be asked about *condamnés* under consideration for release were: Is he disabled or too old to be of use and hence "at the king's charge"? How long has he served? Can he supply a replacement? The first of these was usually the most important.[86]

In the seventeenth century and through the first two decades of the eighteenth, a man condemned to the galleys for a term of years was in es-

[82] See *Rolles* of chains arriving 1746–49: B[6] 130, fol. 247; 133, fols. 78, 194; 134, fols. 237, 246, 313; B[3] 484, fols. 275, 277, *ibid.*

[83] B[3] 437, fols. 536–37, *ibid.* The writer has found no evidence establishing a connection between the dawning eighteenth-century humanitarian movement and these improvements. They can be attributed in part to the improved financial condition of the state after 1725, which rendered possible the satisfaction of needs that had been clearly recognized long before, as by Begon in the 1680's, and Vincent de Paul before him.

[84] Take care that you never heed the testimony of judges for the release of criminals from the galleys, because . . . after having satisfied their conscience in condemning a criminal, they [sometimes] try to have him released by recommendation, even by saying that he is innocent." Colbert, *Lettres,* III, pt. 2, p. 85n.

[85] Numerous treaties were signed with North African potentates that provided for mutual releases or exchange of slaves held in galley service.

[86] Indications of the evolution of policy on releases: B[6] 17, fol. 449: 23, fols. 95–96, 344–45, 356, 375–78; 130, fols. 484–93; A[3] 12, fols. 117, 121, Marine.

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sentially the same position as the ordinary life-term *condemnée*. He almost always served as long as his strength held out, not because of negligence, purposeful inhumanity, or an intention to increase the penalty for crime, but simply because the royal interests required such service. To become accustomed to handling the galley oar and hardened to its fatigues required several years. Not all men lived long enough to complete that training; those who did were valued for their experience and hardiness. The royal interest was ill served when seasoned oarsmen were released after serving a mere apprenticeship.[87] Just as a king's interest could require that his subjects be punished with the galley penalty in lieu of others, so the royal interest could retain them for continued service without regard for any limitation of time fixed by a magistrate. It was therefore unusual for any able-bodied man under sixty years of age to be released from the galleys, no matter what the term of his condemnation.

Even when a *condamné* had given long service or was disabled, or both, he usually had to meet an additional condition before he could be considered a candidate for release. He (or someone else in his name) was expected to provide a slave to serve as his replacement. When it was found, in the 1670's, that as a result of this requirement French agents were engaging in much undesirable competitive buying in the slave markets, especially in Italy, the regulations were changed to allow a money payment equal to the cost of the slave.

The French galley fleet reached its zenith in the early 1690's, with the number of oarsmen totaling over twelve thousand.[88] At the close of that decade, however, an event occurred that solved the problem of procuring oarsmen by simply eliminating the need for them. The decisive event in question was the death in 1700 of King Charles II of Spain, who left his whole kingdom and empire as a legacy to the ruling family of France. The control of both crowns thereby came into the hands of the same ruling house. The long-standing naval rivalry of France and Spain came to an end, and the two strongest galley powers in the Mediterranean abruptly became allies. For each power the new tie eliminated the only significant galley enemy in view.

The end of galley usefulness had long been heralded; for more than a century the galley had been losing effectiveness as an instrument of war. It could neither match nor endure the superior fire power of the sailing ship. Its utility had come to be largely confined to patrolling Mediterranean coasts

[87] Thus Henry IV (1585–1610) pointed out that " 'term condemnations are ordinarily made for only two or three years, which is the reason why our galleys are full of untrained oarsmen' "; consequently, Henry decreed that condemnations should be for not less than six years. Quoted in Augustin Jal, *Abraham du Quesne* (2 vols., Paris, 1873), II, 162–63.

[88] B^{6} 90, fols. 198–99, Marine.

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and contending with other galleys, for only an oar-driven vessel, it was thought, could be depended upon to catch and destroy a galley. For French galleys, the legacy of Charles largely obliterated even that limited utility.

But the galley was slow to die. Although obsolete, it still had value for a particular group of men. Officers of the royal *Corps des Galères,* many from old and influential noble families, had a "vested interest" in preserving the galley and its traditions. They managed to cloak or ignore its practical infirmities, and in every possible way sought to carry on in traditional fashion, as though the oared vessel was still an effective fighting machine. They were more than ever concerned about such matters as salutes and precedence and prestige. Many officials, intendants, *Commissaires,* and galley officers alike, and with them the Chevalier d'Orléans, last *Général des Galères,* defended the galley against its modern, empirical critics. Their spokesman was Barras de la Penne, whose long and learned treatise in defense of the galley still lies unpublished in the Archives de la Marine.

Those galley officers must have been keenly aware of the process of institutional decay going on before their eyes. They had only to look down from their station on the poop to see and lament the decreasing numbers of Turks among the oarsmen in the banks. The infidel Turk, with his distinctive clothing, moustache, and reputation for physical strength, was a symbol of the old fighting galley. His services had been bought in the past with blood; his very presence aboard suggested past glories. Reductions in the number of Turks suggested progressive weakness and debilitation, the approaching end of the Galley Corps. And there was one other definite reason to lament the gradually declining number of Turkish slaves. That decline meant a growing predominance of *forçat* (convict) labor aboard; it meant that as galleys lost naval usefulness, their value as prisons remained. In a tradition- and status-ridden service, officers from old noble families must have found that change difficult to accept. Few could have relished the professional transition from galley officer to prison warden. Yet that unwelcome change took place. The *Corps des Galères* gradually degenerated, as it must have seemed, into a penal establishment.[89] Thus when the *Corps* was officially abolished in 1748, its few remaining vessels were essentially prison hulks for the accommodation of convicts who slept aboard, and usually worked ashore by day. Yet in that very last year of its separate existence, officers of the Galley Corps purchased

[89] Galley officers could still count 1,002 Turks and 4,600 *forçats* in the rowing force in 1712, but by 1738 the Turks numbered only 189, and in 1746 they were but 146 among three thousand oarsmen in the galleys. B^6 105, fol. 358; 123, fol. 168; 130, 224, *ibid.*

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a few additional Turks at Malta and Cartagena markets.[90] Elite oarsmen were apparently sought to give "tone" to the rowing force, and perhaps as symbols of earlier glories, even when the fighting galley had long since died and the need for both *forçats* and slaves was gone.

[90] "M. le Bailly de Boccage [buying for the French at Malta] could only use part of the money set aside for the purpose." B[6] 134, fols. 73–74, 82, 301, *ibid.*

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The House of Morgan and the Executive, 1905-1913

ROBERT H. WIEBE *

EARLY in 1902, when Theodore Roosevelt's administration began antitrust proceedings against the Northern Securities Company, John Pierpont Morgan, its organizer, reputedly complained to Roosevelt, "If we have done anything wrong . . . send your man to my man and they can fix it up."[1] Several years later, in the midst of the Panic of 1907, Elbert H. Gary and Henry Clay Frick hurried to Washington to ask Roosevelt's advice. The two men, who represented Morgan interests in the United States Steel Corporation, told Roosevelt about a plan to purchase for United States Steel a controlling interest in the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company. Presenting the proposal as a bit of altruism designed to save a hard-pressed brokerage firm that owned the stock, they requested assurances that the purchase would not bring antitrust prosecution against the Steel Corporation. Roosevelt gave vague blessings, and the House of Morgan completed the transaction.[2]

Such familiar anecdotes are the material used to describe Wall Street-Washington relations during the progressive era. Contemporary reformers popularized these stories as illustrations of big business incorrigibility and unscrupulousness. Historians, denied access to most businessmen's records and primarily concerned with the course of liberal reform, have accepted them as anecdotes.

Back of these stories lay a consistent pattern, unified by Wall Street's view of the federal government. According to an official biographer, Roosevelt, after listening to Morgan's ideas on corporation control, commented, "Mr. Morgan could not help regarding me as a big rival operator, who either intended to ruin all his interests, or else could be induced to come to an agree-

* Mr. Wiebe, an instructor in the history department at Columbia University, published "Business Disunity and the Progressive Movement, 1901–1914" in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLIV (Mar. 1958), 664–85.

[1] Quoted in Mark Sullivan, *Our Times: The United States 1900–1925* (6 vols., New York, 1927), II (*America Finding Herself*), 414. See also Joseph Bucklin Bishop, *Theodore Roosevelt and His Times* (2 vols., New York, 1920), I, 184.

[2] Frederick Lewis Allen, *The Lords of Creation* (New York, 1935), 139–40; Henry F. Pringle, *Theodore Roosevelt: A Bibliography* (New York, 1931), 441–43. As Roosevelt phrased it, "I felt it no public duty of mine to interpose any objections." Bishop, *Roosevelt*, II, 55. Gary later called this "tacit acquiescence." House Committee on Investigation of United States Steel Corporation (May 27, 1911–Apr.13, 1912, 62 Cong., 2 sess.), *United States Steel Corporation, Hearings* (53 pts., Washington, D. C., 1911–12), June 7, 1911, pt. 4, p. 167.

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ment to ruin none."[3] That insight held the essence of Wall Street's attitude. The New York magnates included the federal government among the autonomous blocs they found in American society. Generically, the government belonged with the Standard Oil Company and the American Federation of Labor. As a corollary, each bloc enjoyed primary power within its particular sphere, which meant that relations among these units roughly paralleled diplomacy among sovereign states.

Wall Street's leaders, reflecting their own involvement, usually spoke of the government in economic language. To the railroad magnate James J. Hill, the President served as chairman of the board for the "great economic corporation known as the United States of America."[4] Applying Wall Street logic, Hill argued that government regulation equaled federal ownership. The government, through the Interstate Commerce Commission, would have the seat of power on the boards of all railroads and could then determine policy.[5] Business journals, reasoning from similar premises, hoped for a "reconciliation" between the administration and the railroads and, more generally, "a proper 'balance of power' between the government and the corporations."[6]

In this theory the government was intrinsically neither good nor evil. Its worth varied with circumstances. In the wrong hands—Bryan's, for example—the government became, like the labor unions, an enemy. With the right men in office, it operated like a friendly corporation cooperating under a community of interest agreement.

The magnates did not sharpen their ideas with precise definitions. They had a flexible approach rather than a pat theory. Yet their orientation clearly obviated a government that arises from the whole society and in turn promotes the general welfare. Nor would their approach enable the government to act as a dispenser of justice above society's units. Early in the century, in fact, Wall Street's leaders ranked the government among the second-rate powers. When speculating about a battle between Washington and Standard Oil, Wall Street odds lay with John D. Rockefeller.[7]

At no time, however, did the magnates leave the government's disposition to chance. In various ways they cultivated the political influence they had inherited from the nineteenth century. Some, like the steel leader Henry Clay Frick, worked intimately with local party leaders.[8] George W. Perkins, a

[3] Bishop, *Roosevelt*, I, 185.
[4] Quoted in George Mowry, *The Era of Theodore Roosevelt*, The New American Nation Series, ed. Henry Steele Commager and Richard B. Morris (New York, 1958), 216.
[5] "Address Delivered June 4, 1902," James J. Hill, *Addresses* (n.p., n.d.).
[6] *Railway Age, XLIII* (Mar. 22, 1907), 373; *Wall Street Journal*, Feb. 24, 1904.
[7] New York *Journal of Commerce and Commercial Bulletin*, June 25, 1906.
[8] Frick to Philander C. Knox, Nov. 11, 1901, Philander C. Knox Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

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Morgan partner, preferred the free play of Washington, where in 1908 he lobbied simultaneously for corporation, financial, and tariff legislation.[9] Political involvement sometimes bred contempt ("I suppose," sighed J. P. Morgan, Jr., "that when one deals with politicians one must expect to be lied to."[10]), and other Wall Street men joined Frank A. Vanderlip, vice-president of the National City Bank, who sat in his office and read reports from his two Washington agents.[11] Only the elder Morgan could call Senator Nelson W. Aldrich into his office and present him with a currency bill or have Aldrich telegraph political news while he vacationed on his yacht.[12] All of them toughened the fiber of their political connections by distributing the funds that made effective campaigning possible.

With the magnates' nineteenth-century inheritance came an emphasis upon Congressional connections. Congress made the government's economic policy in the days of Benjamin Harrison and William McKinley, and at the turn of the century the Republican Big Four—Nelson W. Aldrich, Orville H. Platt, John C. Spooner, and William B. Allison—still held sway with Mark Hanna in the Senate. Then Roosevelt tipped the balance. He sprang the Northern Securities prosecution, intervened in the anthracite coal strike, and forced the Department of Commerce and Labor bill through a reluctant Congress. Both his methods and his acts transformed the executive into a formidable power. Wall Street, in order to maintain its influence, either had to remove the rambunctious Roosevelt as soon as possible, or it had to establish strong bonds with the executive. By 1904, the first alternative—if many Wall Street men ever seriously entertained it—had vanished. Roosevelt, financed by Wall Street contributions, was triumphantly returned to office with the largest percentage of the popular vote since Monroe.[13]

On January 28, 1905, Secretary of Commerce and Labor Victor Metcalf ordered Commissioner of Corporations James R. Garfield to investigate United States Steel.[14] After some months' delay, Garfield sent a subordinate to the offices of Elbert Gary, chairman of the corporation's board, to discuss the matter. Gary used this opportunity to open negotiations for a general understanding with the executive. Through Garfield, always cordial to Morgan's men, Gary arranged a personal conference with Roosevelt.[15]

[9] Perkins to Morgan, Mar. 16, 1908, George W. Perkins Papers, Michigan State University.
[10] J. P. Morgan, Jr., to Perkins, Oct. 28, 1907, *ibid.*
[11] Jerome J. Wilbur and Ailes Files, Frank A. Vanderlip Papers, Butler Library, Columbia University.
[12] Vanderlip to George E. Roberts, Dec. 23, 1907, *ibid;* Aldrich to Morgan (typed copy of telegram), Aug. 5, 1909, Albert J. Beveridge Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.
[13] For a good discussion of this transition, see Mowry, *Era of Theodore Roosevelt,* 115–40.
[14] Metcalf to Garfield, Jan. 28, 1905, File 42395, Records of the Department of Commerce, National Archives. A House resolution that day had called for the investigation.
[15] Garfield to Z. Lewis Dalby, Sept. 20, 1905, File 3641, Records of the Federal Trade Com-

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On the evening of November 2, 1905, Gary and an assistant met with Roosevelt, Metcalf, and Garfield at the White House. Gary stated "that [United States Steel] does not raise the question of the constitutionality of the law [empowering the Bureau of Corporations to investigate]; it desires to co-operate with the Government in every possible way that is consistent with the proper protection of . . . [the stockholders'] rights and property."[16] He promised to open all books and records of the corporation to the Bureau's investigators. In return for this cooperation, Gary asked that the information gleaned from the files be used "by the President alone for his guidance in making such suggestions to Congress concerning legislation as might be proper, expedient, and for the actual benefit of the general public"; and that "any questions relative to the use, publication, and disposition of material which Judge Gary might deem confidential would be considered by him and Commissioner Garfield, and that if there should be a disagreement between them the matter should be referred to Secretary Metcalf and, if necessary, ultimately to the President for determination."[17] Gary and Roosevelt read a memorandum of the conference and seemed satisfied. Gary's first gentlemen's agreement with the administration was consummated.

On December 18, 1906, Oscar S. Straus, then Secretary of Commerce and Labor, directed the Bureau to investigate the International Harvester Company.[18] The Morgan interests were almost as involved in this company as in United States Steel: Perkins had been instrumental in organizing it, and Gary owned a large bloc of its stock.[19] This time the Wall Street leaders had prepared in advance. On December 8 the board of directors of International Harvester had authorized government investigators full access to its files.[20] Then, as soon as news of the investigation broke, Perkins and Cyrus H. McCormick, Harvester's president, wrote to the Department suggesting "a personal conference on the subject."[21] With a precedent established, it was not necessary to see Roosevelt. On January 18, 1907, Garfield and Deputy Com-

mission, National Archives (hereafter cited as Records FTC); Garfield to Gary, Oct. 27, 1905, File 2604–1–1, *ibid.* See also Garfield to Perkins, Dec. 24, 1904, Perkins Papers.

[16] White House Conference, Nov. 2, 1905, File 2605, Records FTC.

[17] *Ibid.* When Roosevelt brought up the subject of overcapitalization, Gary replied that, if the Bureau believed United States Steel guilty after its study, it should say so and "the Steel Corporation could not be punished in any more severe way than by such publicity." *Ibid.*

[18] Straus to Garfield, Dec. 18, 1906, File 64606, Records Commerce Department. A Senate resolution of December 17 asked for the study.

[19] Memorandum, agreement among George W. Perkins, Elbert H. Gary, John P. Wilson, and Cyrus H. McCormick, Oct. 29, 1906, File 4921–23, Records FTC. For duplication between United States Steel and International Harvester officials, see House Committee on Investigation of United States Steel Corporation, *United States Steel Corporation, Hearings,* July 26, 1911, pt. 12, p. 802.

[20] Memorandum, Aug. 23, 1907, File 4902–1, Records FTC.

[21] Perkins to Straus, Dec. 18, 1906; McCormick to Garfield, Dec. 28, 1906, in File 4902–2, *ibid.*

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missioner of Corporations Herbert Knox Smith came to Gary's Waldorf-Astoria suite in New York for a two-day conference with representatives from International Harvester.[22] Morgan's men were meeting Roosevelt's men in order to arrange matters.

Gary praised the administration in the language of the contented customer. United States Steel "had been absolutely satisfied with the treatment it had received from the Bureau," and he hoped "that the Harvester Company would receive the same treatment."[23] In the hands of Roosevelt and the Bureau's staff, Gary said, federal supervision became "a strong safeguard . . . to the prevention of violent attacks on private rights in general that might otherwise come."[24] On that pleasant note, the negotiators completed a second gentlemen's agreement, identical with the one concerning United States Steel.

During these years the Morgan men watched other corporations run afoul of the administration. A few months after the Steel agreement, the Justice Department charged Rockefeller's Standard Oil Company with violations of the antirebate law. Perkins reported to Morgan that as a result of Gary's "wise and vigilant" policies, "we have anticipated a great many questions and situations that might have been unpleasant and . . . [United States Steel] is looked upon in Washington with more favor than perhaps any other one concerned."[25] In 1907, when the government began antitrust prosecution of James B. Duke's American Tobacco Company, Perkins again assured Morgan that this was "about the limit to which the Government can go in the direction of trust smashing."[26] If some business interests remained vulnerable, the Morgan men felt secure behind their private arrangement with the administration.

Why was Perkins so confident? Ostensibly these agreements covered only procedural details for two government investigations, with special emphasis upon protecting the corporations' trade secrets. The answer lay in a Wall Street assumption that, in community of interest understandings, the actual words spoken carried certain automatic implications. Perkins and Gary later spelled these out. In August 1907 Roosevelt asked Perkins whether International Harvester would "be satisfied with whatever the findings [of the Bureau's investigation] were?" Perkins replied that the company expected "the Department frankly [to] come to us and point out any mistakes or technical violations of any law; then give us a chance to correct them, if we could or would, and that if we did, then we would expect the Attorney General not to

[22] Memorandum of First International Harvester Conference, Jan. 18, 1907, File 4902–1, *ibid.*
[23] *Ibid.*
[24] Memorandum of Second International Harvester Interview, Jan. 19, 1907, *ibid.*
[25] Perkins to Morgan, June 25, 1906, Perkins Papers.
[26] Perkins to Morgan, July 12, 1907, *ibid.*

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bring proceedings. . . ."[27] Perkins cited a precedent. In 1904 International Harvester had asked Secretary of Commerce and Labor George B. Cortelyou to find out whether the company was breaking the law. The Interstate Commerce Commission decided that International Harvester had illegally accepted rebates. Representatives of the company then reached an understanding with Attorney General William H. Moody whereby the company stopped its improper practices and the government in turn forgot the matter.[28]

Gary's interpretation matched that of Perkins. In 1911 an agent of the Bureau of Corporations reported Gary's reconstruction of the Steel conference:

> Somewhere about 1905, Judge Gary said, he had a talk with President Roosevelt. This talk seems to have been pretty general in terms. In substance, he told the President that he wished to lay before him whatever the Corporation was doing; that if anything were wrong he wished to be advised of it, and the Corporation would change it; and the President replied that this seemed to him a fair proposition.[29]

Although nothing in the gentlemen's agreements said so, the magnates pictured them as a buffer between the corporations and the courts. The executive would issue private rulings on the corporations' legality and then allow them to avoid suits by cleaning house.

Roosevelt neither accepted nor denied this construction. When Perkins presented his gloss on the International Harvester agreement, Roosevelt evaded the issue. He assured Perkins that the Justice Department would not prosecute until the Attorney General had cleared it with him—a normal procedure—and later promised to postpone all legal action until the Bureau had completed its investigation.[30]

Despite the evasion, the Morgan men had confidence in the President's intentions. A number of Roosevelt's characteristics justified their faith. The idea of blocs within society came naturally to a politician, and Roosevelt added a personal enjoyment for the game of diplomacy. Respecting the magnates' power and their importance to the Republican party, he wanted peace be-

[27] Memorandum, Aug. 28, 1907, *ibid.*

[28] *Ibid.*; memorandum, Aug. 23, 1907, Records FTC. In the latter memorandum, Perkins' assistant William C. Beer said that "the Government has but to point out in what respect it thinks the Company is not obeying the laws to have them obeyed immediately."

[29] Memorandum, interview with E. H. Gary, Oct. 6, 1911, File 1940–1, Records FTC. Needless to say, this résumé does not agree with the official memorandum of the conference. At the time of the agreement, Gary only alluded to his thoughts. He wrote to Garfield (Nov. 10, 1905, File 2605, *ibid.*) that "there has been no disposition on my part to endeavor to bind the Government to any promise or undertaking for the protection of our Corporation," but, he added, Roosevelt certainly did not want to harm the Steel Corporation, or business in general. He repeatedly emphasized the man-to-man character of the agreement. See also second letter to Garfield, Nov. 10, 1905, *ibid.*

[30] Memoranda, Aug. 28 and Nov. 7, 1907, in Perkins Papers.

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tween Wall Street and Washington. Because he believed so firmly in his own judgment, Roosevelt gladly committed his administration once he had determined that a course of action was right.

Roosevelt, like the Morgan men, was groping for a new definition of the government's relationship with big business. Early in his administration the President had indicated his dissatisfaction with the negativism of the Sherman Act. While he welcomed the popularity of the trust buster, he also made clear his preference for a less destructive law. By 1908 he was cooperating with Wall Street in a drive behind the so-called Hepburn amendments to the Sherman Act, bills drawn up in New York that would give the executive the discretion to distinguish between good and bad trusts.[31] Four years later, Roosevelt canvassed the nation as a presidential candidate with this idea fundamental to his platform.

Behind these areas of agreement, however, lay a distinct difference between the President and the magnates. Wall Street initially regarded the government as a mediocre power and at no time recognized it as more than an equal. From the beginning Roosevelt had considered the government above the nation's private groups.[32] Under the gentlemen's agreements he expected the government—in this case, Roosevelt—to have a free hand in making all final decisions. This conviction showed first in the corrections Roosevelt made when he reviewed the original memorandum of the United States Steel agreement. Where the copy read, "That the general business conditions of the country would naturally be damaged if our Corporation were injured; that it was not intended to take any unnecessary action which would be calculated to be injurious . . . ," Roosevelt changed the latter part to read, "that it was not intended to take any action which would be calculated to be injurious unless it was shown to be the Government's clear duty to take it. . . ."[33] Roosevelt's equivocal answer to Perkins in August 1907 implied the same desire to judge as he saw fit.

In this light the most important development of the agreements under Roosevelt, the Tennessee Coal and Iron episode, represented a defeat for the President. The Morgan men regarded the understandings as the foundation

[31] The magnates continued to campaign for a federal agency that would regularize the executive cooperation they tried to achieve through the gentlemen's agreements. See Robert H. Wiebe, "Business Disunity and the Progressive Movement, 1901–1914," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XLIV* (Mar. 1958), 681–84.

[32] The Progressive party platform in 1912 indicated that by this time Roosevelt's concept of the government as a dispenser of justice had matured. George Perkins, who worked so closely with Roosevelt in the campaign, had apparently accepted Roosevelt's view that the government was a power superior to the corporations.

[33] Copy in second letter Gary to Garfield, Nov. 10, 1905, Records FTC. For another example of Roosevelt's differences with the House of Morgan over the proper function of government, see Mowry, *Era of Theodore Roosevelt*, 217.

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for general cooperation with the executive, upon which they would build as new situations arose. When, during the Panic of 1907, the House of Morgan planned to purchase the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company, it naturally sent Gary and Frick to sound out Roosevelt first. The very heart of the agreements, as Gary and Perkins construed them, involved an advance executive ruling to safeguard against later court action. For the House of Morgan, Roosevelt's approval logically extended the existing agreements. But Roosevelt suffered a reverse. Caught in a politically and economically dangerous panic he did not understand, he allowed the Morgan men to assume the initiative and thereby lost control over the agreements.[34]

Otherwise relations between the magnates and Washington were cordial and uneventful during the last Roosevelt years, partly because the Bureau of Corporations did little investigating. The new Commissioner Herbert Knox Smith repeatedly showed his friendliness toward the magnates. Seconded by Secretary Straus, he offered to publicize International Harvester's cooperative attitude toward the Bureau's investigation.[35] When Attorney General Charles J. Bonaparte made threatening gestures toward International Harvester, it was Smith who extracted Roosevelt's promise to withhold any prosecution until the Bureau had finished investigating.[36] At the same time he confided in Harvester's chief counsel that all available evidence pointed toward the company's legality.[37] Roosevelt, seemingly convinced that United States Steel and International Harvester were good corporations, did not press the Bureau for action.

Left in peace, the Morgan men responded in kind. Perkins chatted often

[34] For comments on the meeting by two participants, see Gary to Elihu Root, Nov. 7, 1907, and Root to Gary, Nov. 11, 1907, both in Elihu Root Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. Gary's letter includes veiled references to the United States Steel agreement. Gary later claimed that early in the panic he had also requested executive approval for his plan to stabilize prices throughout the iron and steel industry and that Roosevelt had raised no objections (Memorandum of interview with E. H. Gary, Oct. 6, 1911, File 1940–1, Records FTC). Thus Gary considered his famous "dinners" as well as the purchase of Tennessee Coal and Iron a part of the expanding Steel agreement. Perhaps encouraged by success, Frick wrote to Roosevelt (Nov. 30, 1907, Theodore Roosevelt Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress) offering his and Gary's services as mediators in the court battles between the government and Standard Oil. The bloc approach to government had many applications.

Emphasizing the executive's retreat during the financial crisis, Secretary of the Treasury George B. Cortelyou turned over to the House of Morgan government funds which the bankers used at their discretion to fight the panic. See Cortelyou's later testimony in the House subcommittee of the Committee on Banking and Currency (62 Cong. 3 sess., May 16, 1912–Feb. 26, 1913), *Money Trust Investigation, Investigation of Financial and Monetary Conditions in the United States under House Resolutions Nos. 429 and 504* (3 vols., Washington, D. C., 1912–13), June 13, 1912, I, 430–54.

[35] Smith to McCormick, Aug. 8, 1907, Perkins Papers; Straus to Redfield Proctor, Jan. 25, 1908, File 64606, Records Commerce Department.

[36] Memorandum, Nov. 7, 1907, Perkins Papers. See also Henry F. Pringle, *The Life and Times of William Howard Taft: A Biography* (2 vols., New York, 1939), II, 790–91.

[37] Edgar A. Bancroft to Perkins, Feb. 4, 1908, Perkins Papers. See also Perkins to Smith, Apr. 18, 1908, File 5589, Records FTC; Smith to Perkins, Apr. 20, 1908, Perkins Papers.

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with Roosevelt and always found him congenial.[38] In March 1907, when other businessmen were blaming Roosevelt for an unsettled stock market, Gary wrote the President a letter flattering his reform record.[39] Only once did Gary experience a moment of doubt. In January 1909 Roosevelt turned over nonconfidential data from the Steel investigation to the Senate Judiciary Committee. Although the Bureau dutifully sent Gary a list of the documents divulged, Gary felt impelled "to call the attention . . . of Commissioner Smith to original correspondence between Secretary Garfield and myself. I hope our understanding will not be overlooked." Smith assured Gary that "we have in mind the matter of which you speak," and the incident passed.[40]

When Roosevelt selected William Howard Taft as his heir, Wall Street applauded;[41] he appeared far safer than Roosevelt. Asked during the 1908 campaign whether he anticipated any action against United States Steel, Taft replied that he saw no reason for an investigation, and added, "Indeed, Secretary Garfield tells me there is not [any reason for one]."[42] The candidate did not even know that the Steel Corporation, along with International Harvester, was already under investigation. Taft's victory, coinciding with court decisions favorable to big business, made the Morgan men certain that their agreements with the executive were secure.[43]

The House of Morgan, in company with much of the nation, misjudged the new President. The agreements, in order to function properly, required a strong President whose word bound his administration. Taft was a follower who diffused responsibility among his subordinates and relied upon them for much of his policy. The agreements, as the Morgan men understood them, also depended upon a pragmatic executive, willing to bend them to fit any new developments. Where Roosevelt enjoyed the leeway of private negotiations, Taft's administration lacked the necessary flexibility. Taft's mind worked in legal channels, and in revamping the cabinet he surrounded himself with lawyers who shared his outlook. Finally, the magnates needed a

[38] Perkins to Morgan, July 31, 1908, Perkins Papers. See also Perkins to Roosevelt, June 10, 1908, *ibid.*

[39] Gary to Roosevelt, Mar. 15, 1907, Roosevelt Papers.

[40] William H. Baldwin to Gary, Jan. 30, 1909; Gary to Baldwin, Feb. 1, 1909; Baldwin to Gary, Feb. 2, 1909; Gary to Baldwin, Feb. 4, 1909; Baldwin to Gary, Feb. 5, 1909; all in File 6296, Records FTC. Later, when the Stanley Committee asked Gary if he knew whether the President had received any information from the Bureau of Corporation's investigation of United States Steel, Gary disingenuously replied, "I have no knowledge as to whether or not the Department of Commerce and Labor has furnished any of this information to the President. There is no way I could know that." House Committee on Investigation of United States Steel Corporation, *United States Steel Corporation, Hearings,* June 1, 1911, pt. 2, p. 71. See also *ibid.,* June 2, 1911, pt. 3, p. 139; July 20, 1911, pt. 9, pp. 495–98.

[41] Pringle, *Taft,* I, 347, 355.

[42] Quoted in Mowry, *Era of Theodore Roosevelt,* 288. The remark indicates that, if Taft reported him correctly, Garfield discounted the investigations as a formality.

[43] For comments on the courts, see Perkins to J. P. Morgan, Jr., Nov. 10, 1908, Perkins Papers.

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President who, like Roosevelt, could accept big business as a positive good for America. Neither Taft nor Attorney General George W. Wickersham qualified. Both men believed that the dissolution of overlarge corporations would bring back old-time competition. For Taft, who wanted to continue Roosevelt's progressivism by administering rather than innovating, the trust issue proved a godsend. With Wickersham showing the way, the government mined the Sherman Act for all it was worth.[44]

In Roosevelt's last years a Department of Commerce and Labor sympathetic to Wall Street had counterbalanced the aggressive Attorney General Charles Bonaparte. Under Taft, Secretary Charles Nagel gave the Justice Department every possible assistance. When Nagel discovered that the Steel investigation had lagged under Roosevelt and that the International Harvester study had scarcely begun, he immediately concentrated the Department's energies on those two projects.[45] Bypassing Commissioner of Corporations Herbert Knox Smith, a confirmed friend of the Morgan men, Nagel relied upon a pair of Smith's subordinates, who distrusted Gary's motives, to manage the investigations.[46] Contrary to his predecessor's policy, Nagel never insisted that the Justice Department wait for a completed investigation before prosecuting. At the same time that he placed his Department at the service of the Attorney General, Nagel turned his back on Wall Street and, by silencing Smith, cut off the magnates' main source of unofficial information.[47]

Commissioner Smith was an anachronism in the new administration. As the only participant in the original agreements still in office, he did his best to keep them operative. He prodded Nagel to destroy copies of confidential data that the Bureau had used in its investigations and reminded his superiors of the corporations' cooperativeness. Citing Roosevelt, he tried to delay antitrust suits until the Bureau had completed its studies.[48] But he cried into the wind. Although he remained in office until 1912, he wielded no power. Taft and Nagel privately rejoiced when Smith resigned to join Roosevelt's Progressive party.[49]

[44] Mowry, *Era of Theodore Roosevelt,* 231–38; and Pringle, *Taft,* I, 248, 523; II, 604–606, 655–59, 669–73, 718 ff., contain suggestive information on Taft and the nature of his administration.

[45] Memorandum, Aug. 22, 1912, File 64606, Records Commerce Department.

[46] William H. Baldwin to Garfield, Nov. 28, Dec. 3, 1906, File 3641, Records FTC; Luther Conant, Jr., to Smith, Dec. 25, 1908, File 2604–1–1, *ibid.*

[47] Perkins to Smith, July 3, 1911, File 4902–2, *ibid;* Smith to Perkins, July 8, 1911, Perkins Papers.

[48] Smith to Nagel, June 30, Oct. 27, 1910, and Conant to Nagel, Nov. 1, 1910, in File 69445, Records Commerce Department; Smith to Taft, Apr. 28, 1912, File 64606, *ibid.* See also E. A. Bancroft to Smith, Nov. 6, 1909, and Smith to Bancroft, Nov. 12, 1909, in File 6419, Records FTC.

[49] Taft to Nagel, July 17, 1912, File 64606, Records Commerce Department.

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Meanwhile, the Morgan men could only await developments. When the Supreme Court in May 1911 ruled that the Standard Oil and American Tobacco Companies violated the Sherman Act, the magnates read the decisions as an invitation to Wickersham and Taft to try their luck with United States Steel and International Harvester.[50] Hearing rumors of imminent prosecutions, Perkins went to Wickersham in July 1911 to revitalize the agreements. He promised Wickersham that if the Justice Department uncovered any practices which "in his judgment, should be corrected, we would all meet him half way in an effort to [correct them] by agreement rather than through a suit."[51] The magnates had come full circle: Perkins' offer exactly matched the one made to Attorney General Moody seven years earlier. But what had made sense in 1904 no longer applied in 1911. Wickersham answered Perkins on October 26 when the Justice Department, without waiting for the Bureau to finish its study, began antitrust proceedings against United States Steel.

The next day Gary sadly but firmly told the Bureau's agents that United States Steel could no longer cooperate in their investigations.[52] The corporation's attorneys received no more satisfaction from the Taft administration. When they asked the government to respect the confidential information it had at its disposal, Nagel told them they would "have to trust him to use it discreetly and to publish only what [was] necessary," and Taft added, "That is right."[53] Shortly afterward, the Justice Department brought suit against the International Harvester Company. Again the Bureau had not yet issued its report, and Harvester's attorney worked to the last minute to breathe life into the second gentlemen's agreement. He reminded the Bureau of "the very fair offer" Smith had made to allow the company to correct the report for "any inadvertent errors or [to] present further information on any point upon which I may believe you to have been misinformed."[54] Despite rebuffs from the new Commissioner of Corporations Luther Conant, Jr., the attorney persisted until Nagel had told him twice that the report's publica-

[50] Memorandum for Mr. Roosevelt, Mar. 11, 1912, Perkins Papers, shows Perkins' distaste, shared by other men from Wall Street, for the Supreme Court's so-called rule of reason, distinguishing between acceptable and unacceptable restraint of trade.

[51] Memorandum, July 13, 1911, Perkins Papers.

[52] Memorandum, conference between Gary and Bureau of Corporations officials, Oct. 27, 1911, 1940–1, Records FTC, includes Gary's emotions.

[53] Memorandum, Nov. 29, 1911, Presidential Ser. no. 2, William Howard Taft Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. Ironically, the administration's decision still followed the letter of the agreement: the Secretary, then the President, arbitrated differences between the Bureau and the Steel Corporation.

[54] E. A. Bancroft to Luther Conant, Jr., Sept. 10, 1912, File 6419, Records FTC. Just before he resigned, Smith had allowed Gary's rejoinders to be included in the Bureau's report on United States Steel. Memorandum, conference at Gary's office, Oct. 13, 1911, File 1940–1, *ibid.*

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tion could not wait for his proofreading.[55] The Taft administration left office amid bitter complaints from the prosecuted corporations.[56]

In 1911 Gary called the Steel suit "the irony of Fate."[57] Considering his misplaced faith in Taft three years before, the judgment sounded reasonable. More accurately, the Steel prosecution, marking the end of one gentlemen's agreement, was the casualty of a transition period. The Wall Street approach to the federal government, as embodied in the agreements, required more abnegation than the progressive era's administrations would accept. It fitted neither Roosevelt's view of a government above society nor Taft's legalistic, administrating executive.

Before they collapsed, the gentlemen's agreements gave Wall Street valuable experience. They taught the magnates the importance of adapting their approach to new circumstances. Even before entering the agreements, the Morgan men had made an important concession. By elevating the government from secondary power to a position of equality with the House of Morgan, they extended the executive's domain to include a study of their hitherto sacred records and, in the process, partially recognized the government's right to regulate corporations. This facilitated a later concession to Woodrow Wilson's administration by which the magnates temporarily accepted the government as a superior power with unquestioned rights to regulate business. On that basis, the American Telephone and Telegraph Company and the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad arranged private settlements with Attorney General James C. McReynolds that forestalled prosecution.[58] Moreover, the painful changes from Roosevelt to Taft to Wilson pointed up the value of continuity in the government's personnel and philosophy to any private understandings. The progressive era's irregular course made the magnates more appreciative of Republican consistency during the 1920's, when the business of government always remained business. In defeat, Wall Street was learning.

[55] Conant to Bancroft, Sept. 18, 1912, File 6419, *ibid;* Bancroft to Nagel, Feb. 21, 1913; Nagel to Bancroft, Feb. 22, 26, 1913, File 64606, Records Commerce Department.

[56] Statement of Cyrus H. McCormick, Mar. 2, 1913, File 6963–1, Records FTC.

[57] Gary to Perkins, Aug. 1, 1911, Perkins Papers. As the date shows, this comment was written just before the government suit began, when prosecution was certain.

[58] Arthur S. Link, *Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era, 1910–1917,* The New American Nation Series, ed. Henry Steele Commager and Richard B. Morris (New York, 1954), 76 and fn. 56; and a slightly different presentation in Link, *Wilson: The New Freedom* (Princeton, N. J., 1956), 418–23.

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Notes and Suggestions

The Future Uses of History

J. Franklin Jameson*

IT is easy to say that prophecy is vain, and literary prophecy the most insecure of all. Twenty-two years before the French Revolution, David Hume declared that the writings of Rousseau had once for all been "consigned to perpetual neglect and oblivion." The same acute critic declared confidently that posterity would regard John Home's "Douglas" as the chief of English tragedies. But reluctant as any historical student must be to assume the totally different functions of the prophet, it is not difficult to show that, if it is his business to occupy himself chiefly with the raw materials of history, he must inevitably try to peer forward somewhat into the future of the historical art. He has no other course. The "Guide to the Materials for American History in the Public Record Office of Great Britain," of which we published a volume the other day, is not intended for the benefit of the historian whose book is published today or tomorrow. It comes too late for him. He will say of it as the Abbé de René Vertot, author of a once famous *History of the Siege of Malta,* said when new materials were shown him which upset his narrative before it was published, "Monsieur, mon siège est fait." Several years must pass before any considerable portion of the materials we have listed at the Public Record Office has been examined by historical students, still more years before the fresh facts in them have found their way into historical monographs or articles, still more before they are incorporated into the general histories.

In the field of history, indeed, the advancement of learning may be likened to the advance of an army. The workers in organized institutions of research must go before, like pickets or scouting parties making a reconnaissance. Then, after some interval, comes the light cavalry of makers of doctoral

* Mr. Jameson, pioneer among professional historians as well as the managing editor of the *Review* for almost thirty years (1895–1901; 1905–1928), delivered this paper December 12, 1912, before the trustees of the Carnegie Institution, Washington, D. C. The *Review* reprints it, with the omission of the first page and with minor editorial changes, from *The History Teacher's Magazine* (IV, no. 2, Feb. 1913), not only in recognition of the centenary of Jameson's birth, but as an illustration of his vision.

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dissertations, then, the heavy artillery of writers of maturer monographs, both of them heavily encumbered with ammunition trains of bibliography and footnotes. Then comes the multitudinous infantry of readers and college students and school children, and finally, like sutlers and contractors hovering in the rear, the horde of those that make textbooks. It may be twenty years before new facts discovered or the elimination of ancient errors find place in the historical books prepared for the general reader. At all events, the conductor of the reconnaissance must have his eye on the future, rather than the immediate, needs of his profession, and must constantly make such forecast of them as he can. And so he is, perforce, obliged to think of the future uses of history, not necessarily with ambitious straining toward an impossible degree of foresight, but at least with sober endeavor to see what can be seen.

As human life in the future will be partly like human life in the past and partly different, so the usefulness of history to future purposes will be partly the same as it has hitherto been manifested and partly different. First, leaving aside momentarily all is applications, its independent value as a discipline will surely never cease. The severity of its methods, its merciless sifting and dissection, and comparison of human statements, will always make it the invaluable foe of credulity, the steady propagator of that methodical doubt on which enlightenment so largely depends. It cannot fail to be in the future, as it has been in the past, one of the principal promoters of fairness of mind, that chief lubricant of human affairs. Indeed, in the graded schools beyond which only a small fraction of our population ever proceeds, it is the one study which teaches children anything of the minds and characters of their fellow beings. These are important considerations, if we are willing to look out of our study windows and to think of history, not as the property of a small guild of professional colleagues, but as the rightful heritage of millions. For my own part, I do not hesitate to say that in our country the chief use of history is to give young women—I say young women because young men will not read—to give American young women, earlier than life can give it, some knowledge of human nature.

But it will be said that these are vague considerations, on which it would be difficult to erect a program. As historians have usually construed their task, it has been to study, not simply human nature and the general course of its workings in actual life, but specifically the manner in which organized human nature has acted. Human beings have been organized in various ways, and many forms of history have been devised to correspond. Most conspicuously, they have been organized in political states, and political histories have, therefore, been the histories most abundantly written. But whatever

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the particular variety, the main reason for writing has lain in the conviction that from the history of an organization in the past one could learn what would be useful toward its guidance in the present and future.

History has risen or fallen in popularity as there has been greater or less belief that the past had valuable lessons to teach. If it is the nurse of statesmanship, if it is philosophy teaching by examples, if it shows the ways of God to man, it is well worth pursuing. In the days between the Reformation and the Peace of Westphalia it was so regarded. "Histories make men wise," said Lord Bacon. "To despise them," said Luther, "is not only a coarse Tartaric and Cyclopean barbarism, but also a devilish senselessness, whereby the devil would more and more extinguish the right knowledge of God." Never, on the other hand, did the esteem of history sink lower than in France in the time of the Revolution, when, it was held, old things had passed away and all things had become new, and the politician's great duty was to cut loose from the abhorred and despised past of the Middle Ages and bring the Golden Age into immediate existence.

> The world's great age begins anew,
> The golden years return;
> The earth doth like a snake renew
> Her winter weeds outworn;
> Heaven smiles, and faiths and empires gleam
> Like wrecks of a dissolving dream.

On the whole, however, men have speedily returned to the opinion, and we may expect them to adhere to it, that history has much light to cast on the problems of statesmanship. It is easy to say that no two ages or countries, no two states of society, no two combinations of events, are ever precisely alike. No doubt one of the chief uses of history itself is to prevent us from being taken in by historical parallels. Caesar had his Brutus and Charles I his Cromwell, but in a modern historical seminar, Patrick Henry would find difficulty in proving that all that had anything to do with George III.

But that history can be misused is no argument that it is useless. Its lessons are not ready in tabloids, predigested for immediate consumption by the inquiring statesman. Its oracles require interpretation or modification to fit new circumstances. No two cases in history are alike. But no two voyages are alike, yet we prefer a skipper who has voyaged before. No two political campaigns are alike, but it is not customary to trust the management of a new candidacy to one who has never before gone through a political campaign. So of the nation or the race. John Selden put the matter rightly. The passage is in his *History of Tythes:*

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> The neglect or only vulgar regard of the fruitful and precious part of it [antiquity] which gives necessary light to the present in matter of state, law, history, and the understanding of good authors, is but preferring that kind of ignorance which our short life alone allows us before the many ages of former experience and observation, which may so accumulate years to us as if we had lived even from the beginning of time.

As we are helped in respect to shaping our personal course into the future by all the various knowledge of mankind that we have gained by the experience of life, some of it knowledge that we could state in formal propositions, some of it knowledge that lies implicit in our minds as the foundation of tact, so the uses of history to the public man or to the voter lie partly in formulated conclusions or opinions, partly in less tangible gains—in a heightened sense of what is expedient for man, or for the particular nation or community whose history one has tried to understand, in a more acute judgment as to what will succeed. At the basis of our confidence lies the belief, which the last half-century's studies have converted into settled doctrine, that the whole civilization of the present has its roots deep in the past, and can never be understood except by entering deeply into the study of origins. The stream of history is a stream of causation. The spacious fabric that lies before us, woven for us on the roaring loom of time, gray and dull in some lights or aspects, shot with gleams of splendor when seen in others, is composed of threads drawn from every age of the past.

Not one of these influences or survivals can be rightly understood except by considering its entire setting, and thus we are led into the study of all past ages. The Balkan situation of 1912 demands for its sympathetic comprehension not only a close study of ethnological characters in some of the most intricately mixed populations of Europe, but a knowledge of five hundred years of Turkish history, a thousand years of Bulgarian and Serbian history, more than sixteen hundred of Rumanian and Greek. The American Negro, the Russian Jew, the many other ethnic elements which go to make up our wonderfully composite population, each requires the patient mastery of a separate history for its proper understanding.

History must be studied in order that we may comprehend how the evolution of human elements and institutions has been brought about, a process radically different from the evolution of animal forms, and consisting mostly in changes of place, in the replacing of one generation by another, and above all in the substitution of new habits of action and thought for earlier ones. But if this were all, the American would have little need to study any but American history, and, in lessening degree as he went backward, those ages of European history from which concrete and definite elements have passed over into the American fabric.

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In reality there are two ways in which history enables us to understand the present, and the tracing of origins and transmissions and survivals is but one of them. There is a sense in which we know things only by comparison, can know the present state of civilization in any country only as we appreciate how and wherein it might have been different. Many a statement as to cause and effect in the evolution of society in any given country can be exploded or modified by a glance at the differing manner in which the same forces have worked out under differing circumstances elsewhere. Much of what we deem to have been logically inevitable in the history of the feudalism of the Middle Ages in Europe is seen not to have been true of Japanese feudalism. The elaborate civilizations of Greece and Rome deserve the child's attention, among other reasons, precisely because they are not those of the generations immediately preceding and leading up to his own. There is a provincialism in respect to time as narrowing as the provincialism of space, and one of the chief uses of history is to guard us from it.

The platform orator confidently put forward the protective tariff as the true source of American high wages. You may give him pause if you point out to him that American wages were high before there was a protective tariff. Henry Wansey, a Wiltshire clothier who traveled about the United States before even the act of 1790 could have had much effect, declares his belief that manufacturers could not succeed in America because of the scarcity and high price of labor.

If not an orator, a highly oratorical historian, unfortunately much read, draws our attention to striking contrasts between the institutions of America and those of England, and urges us to believe that the origins of the former are in the main not English, but Dutch. We do not have an established church. Democratic equality prevails among us. We have a written constitution, a President, a legislature much differing from Parliament. Primogeniture is unknown among us. Deeds and mortgages are recorded in public offices. Our system of local government is simple. Religious liberty, the freedom of the press, the use of the written ballot, and the modern system of prison management were all fully established in America long before they came into vogue in England. Therefore, says our writer, American institutions, at least these typical ones, must have come from some third country, to wit, from Holland. But a very little historical thinking leads us to ask whether Australia has ever been to any powerful degree subjected to the influences of the Dutch. Here also is a land without established churches, and in which religious liberty, freedom of the press, and democratic equality have long prevailed. The individual colonies and the Commonwealth of Australia have written constitutions. The organization of the colonial legislatures is of a more modern type

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than that of the legislature in England, and the system of local government is simpler. Primogeniture is unknown. The administration of prisons has been in accord with modern notions. The registration of land titles is more highly developed than in the United States, and the arrangements with regard to the written ballot are those which we have at last copied. Now if all these things are not and cannot be of Dutch origin in Australia, neither are they, in the main, in America. The simple truth, of course, is that most of these differences between English and American institutions are most naturally explained as resulting from the widely different conditions presented by virgin soil, new settlement, absence of traditions, or other historic accidents.

Or again, our platform orator, perhaps, assures us that an antipathy of the white man toward the Negro is a natural instinct, implanted by God in the white human breast, so that racial antagonisms are a part of the divine order of the universe. If our historical studies of the Negro and of slavery have been confined to the United States and to the Anglo-Saxon, as unfortunately those studies too often are, we may see no course but to acquiesce in the orator's deductions. But if we are able to bring into the comparison the history of the Negro in Brazil, where the sentiment alluded to does not exist, we shall see that it is not the fatal product of nature, but the deciduous fruit of history.

Now this use of history, to enrich our intelligence concerning what is before us by including alien institutions and remote civilizations in the circle of our thinking, by the comprehension of a wider variety of social and political forms and events than has underlain our own national development, is a use unaffected in the main by the changes which our own age or nation may undergo. The student of the political and social sciences—the economist, the philologian in the broader sense of that term, the student of legal and religious ideas—will never find direct observation of present phenomena sufficient for their purposes, but will continue in the future, as they have so largely done during the past fifty years, to seek in the rich laboratory of history the materials for sounder conclusions than today's phenomena alone can give.

But as to the other chief use of history, to show how the present world has come to be what it is, we must expect that, while remaining generically the same, it shall take on new forms as the social complex changes. It need not surprise us if history once more transforms itself. It has done so again and again. Dr. Mark Pattison declared that history was one of the most ephemeral forms of literature. Without quite subscribing to this dictum, we may readily point out that since the Renaissance history, like other forms of literature, has had its well-defined phases, has passed through several distinct climates of ideas. First came the classicizing historians of the Renaissance, then the

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memoir-writers of the age of religious wars, then in each country the statesmen-historians of the early seventeenth century, then everywhere those giants of learning, prodigies of documentary collection and publication, who two hundred years ago were making the great age of erudition. Next came the philosophical historians of the school of Turgot and Hume, applying general ideas and ruling the mid-eighteenth century; then the eclipse of history by the French Revolution; then, in the period of Restoration and Romanticism, its return into the hands of statesmen and publicists; then the heyday of the critical school, the searchers of documents, the disciples of Ranke, to whose synagogue most of us still belong; and latterly, outside of Anglo-Saxondom at least, a new school of synthetic philosophers and sociological psychologists, speaking what to old ears seems a new language, quite as much the dialect of thermodynamics or of pathology as of history.

Generally speaking, these successive changes of attitude on the part of history have been conscious or unconscious attempts to adapt it to the uses of successive states of society. Every age has its own problems. Each looks to history for help in solving them, because it believes, as Burke said, that the individual's private stock of reason is too small to trade upon, and that he would do better to avail himself "of the general bank and capital of nations and of ages." But each asks its own questions of the oracle, and we are to expect that the next generation, the immediate future, will make other demands upon the records of the past than those which have been made by our own day and generation. If then we are working at all for the future, we must ask ourselves what the future will be like.

To such a question it is foolish to attempt an extensive or detailed reply. There is much, however, to convince us that, broadly speaking, we are approaching the end of one of the great epochs in human history and the beginning of another. The period which is ending has lasted somewhat more than four centuries. It may be called the era of great national states, as the five hundred years which preceded it may be called the era of small feudal states. Shortly before the discovery of America, powerful economic influences, aided by a group of vigorous and ambitious monarchs and statesmen, replaced feudal anarchy by centralized despotism, and welded the discordant fragments of medieval Europe into a dozen capacious, strong, and durable kingdoms. For four hundred years this has been the main form or mold in which Europe has been organized. For four hundred years the main subject of European history has been the organized and separate doings of a dozen large nations and their mutual interaction. The peace of Europe seemed to lie in the balance of power among these national states.

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But throughout most of these four centuries the conditions of life in western and central Europe changed comparatively little in things essential. Napoleon's army could not invade Italy with much greater celerity than that of Charles VIII under similar leadership might have done. The peasant of a Yorkshire village in 1789 had seen no more of Frenchmen than his predecessor of 1689. His parson had been educated by the same classics as the parson of a hundred years before, his militiaman used the same weapons, his shoemaker the same tools. Western Europe was in the main

> A sleepy land where under the same wheel
> The same old rut would deepen year by year;
> Where Aylmer follow'd Aylmer at the Hall
> And Averill, Averill at the Rectory.

The Industrial Revolution has changed all that. Coal and iron and steam, the railroad and the steamboat and the telegraph, have knit all Europe together into one complex but compacted whole. Adrianople is nearer to St. James's Palace in 1912 than Calais was in 1800. Forty international congresses take place every year. More treaties are signed in a month than in the sixteenth century were signed in a decade. When France and Germany seem likely to be dragged into war by the conflict of financial and commercial interests in Morocco, the socialists of both countries organize simultaneous antimilitarist demonstrations, in which millions of workingmen take part, and warfare is averted. The peoples of Europe are usually in quite as close and cordial relations as those of the American states were in 1786.

In military, diplomatic, and some political aspects it may still be proper to think of Europe chiefly as a system of great national states. But in nearly every other aspect it is plain that the Age of Nations is approaching its end. The nation is ceasing to be the leading form of the world's structure; organizations transcending national boundaries are becoming more and more numerous and effective. We are advancing into a new world which will be marked by cosmopolitan thought and sentiment, by economic systems more and more socialistic in character, and by institutions increasingly internationalized; and signs are not wanting that among the historians of Europe there are those who will supply the new internationalized and socialistic Demos with the historical information which his new purposes will require.

Meantime it is equally true, though true under other forms, that for America also the last four hundred years have constituted a distinct era now coming to a close. It is the great and memorable era of free land. Hitherto free land has been our basis. "Land!" was the first cry of the storm-tossed mariners of Columbus. For three centuries the leading fact of American history has been

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that soon after 1600 a body of Europeans, mostly Englishmen, settled on the edge of the greatest piece of unoccupied agricultural land in the temperate zone, and proceeded to subdue it to the uses of man. For three centuries the chief task of American mankind has been to go up westward against the land and to possess it. Our wars, our independence, our state building, our political democracy, our plasticity with respect to immigration, our mobility of thought, our ardor of initiative, our mildness, and our prosperity, all are but incidents of products of this prime historical fact.

It has been a wonderful process. Future ages, remoter from it than we, will see more clearly the high poetic quality in this ceaseless pressure and surge of half-conscious millions, led forward by dim, high impulses to enter the promised land and to prepare it to be the chief home of civilized mankind.

> By faith they sojourned in the land of promise, as in a strange country, dwelling in tabernacles . . . [and] died in faith, not having received the promises, but having seen them afar off, and were persuaded of them, and embraced them, and confessed that they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth.

But all this, which has allied our simple annals with the Odyssey and the Book of Genesis, is now a closed or closing chapter. The era of free land is over. Practically all the usable agricultural land, except that which is also forested, has now passed out of the hands of the federal government. That government has disposed of two thousand million acres of public lands; but from 1900 to 1910 the total area of farms increased only 4 per cent. For nearly three centuries our prevailing practice was the ownership of the land by him that worked it, and our democracy rested largely on the opinion that this was the ideal regime; now three-eights of our farms are operated by tenants. Half our population is now urban within the census definition, where in 1790 all but 3 per cent was rural; meanwhile, our exports of manufactures have more than quadrupled in twenty years. In short, we have ceased, almost suddenly ceased, to be a new country—that is to say, a nation which has taken but the first steps in the subduing of nature to the uses of man—and have become an old country.

Can it be supposed that so great and so dramatic a transition, which has transformed the organization of our economic life and of our political parties, shall have no effect upon the questions which men ask concerning the past? Nothing can be more certain than that history must be prepared to respond to new demands. I do not think so ill of my profession as to suppose that American historians will not make gallant and intelligent attempts to meet the new requirements.

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What sort of histories will a socialized and internationalized Europe desire? What information regarding the past will be demanded by a socialized, probably in some sense socialistic, America? Surely the old varieties of history will continue, partly because of human inertia, partly because they ought to continue. Even a world without kingdoms must know the history of kingdoms. Even the drum and trumpet historian, so much reprobated of late, has his place. If we can thoroughly know the present only by contrast and comparison, if we are to steer clear of a provincial habit of mind respecting our own age, we shall think that wars and political machinations that have been important in their day are important in history. Because the automobile is becoming the leading feature of our scenery, we are not warranted in thinking that the one really important event in Napoleon's time was the invention of Trevethick's traction-engine.

Yet surely man will wish to know concerning the past a thousand things of which in former times annalists were incurious. Social and economic history will surely assume a greater place than political history. Where hitherto men have interrogated the past concerning the doings of generals and politicians, they will be more prone to interrogate it concerning the holdings of public and private land, the course of prices, the migrations of settlers and of crop areas, the rise of trade-unions, the development of new religions, the status of the Negro, the advance of education or missions or of the spirit of toleration.

In an advancing world, the power of thought increases. We must expect that the men of the future will be more curious than we have been respecting the history of thought, of thought as manifested in philosophy and the advance of science, in religion and poetry, in industrial and social programs, in newspapers and the drama. A world that is increasingly ruled by public opinion will wish to know more of the history of public opinion. It will care more about the psychology of the Crusaders' motives than about their deeds of arms, more about the religion of the Visigoths than about the succession of their kings.

A socialized and internationalized Christendom will particularly desire light on the history of national character and of all that has gone to make it up. The advocates of universal peace, whom it is customary in some quarters to stigmatize as "well-meaning," are not deceived in thinking that they have with them, on the whole, the mightiest forces of the new industrial world. It is profitable to modern business and to modern labor alike, to extend that sympathetic comprehension of nation by nation which makes warfare increasingly distasteful, and of that comprehension there is no better nourisher than the study of history.

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No doubt many questions will be asked of history which history cannot answer. Past ages have left record of such things only as seemed to them important. If the inventor of gunpowder or of paper could have foreseen its total significance, he would not have left us to grope so dimly in the search for its origins. It would interest us immeasurably to know the fact with certainty, if the decline of the Roman Empire was due to the spread of malaria, but we cannot find all the evidence we would. But the questioning will continue. History that is worth while will be pursued with increasing eagerness. Men will increasingly perceive that our ability to transform the world of society is enhanced by our sense of the transformations it has already undergone, our belief in the possibility of changing it.

These are some of the traits of history's usefulness in the future. These are some of the possibilities and probabilities concerning its development which ought to be borne in mind by those who plan for, and work in, an endowed department of historical research. Imperfect as our vision into the future is and must be, by using it as well as we can we shall be enabled better to serve the needs of the historians who shall come after us and enter into our labors. Comforted by this reflection we may retire once more into our subterranean caverns.

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The British Empire and Commonwealth in Recent Historiography

PHILIP D. CURTIN*

OF the areas and subdivisions falling under the heading "The History of Britain and the British Empire," the field of Imperial history holds a position that is both unique and unenviable.[1] Other fields, like "Tudor and Stuart England," are fixed forever in time and space. By contrast, the Empire is not only an ungainly beast, but one that constantly changes its size and shape with the passing of the years. Until the middle of the nineteenth century it was hardly recognized as a proper field of historical study. And when, early in the twentieth century, it achieved both status and a reasonable following of students and researchers, the Empire began to transform itself into the Commonwealth, and some segments even left the Commonwealth.[2]

The result has been a paradox. The importance of the field has been increasingly recognized as its nature and scope have been constantly changing. From the time of Seeley onward, Imperial history has come into its own as the Europe-centered view of history has given way to a broader view of "world" history. The rise of Russia and the United States, the increased importance of the new non-Western nations, and the relative decline of Europe have all contributed something. As Europe counted for less, the Empire counted for more, and a kind of peak was reached in the 1930's when the Empire was still intact and at its greatest extent. Then, all of it could be taken as the proper field for Imperial history, and an enormous field it was—inhabitants in the hundreds of millions, hundreds of different cultures and subcultures represented, plural societies of every conceivable kind, and scores of constitutional units to serve as the political framework for as many societies, both large and small.

But with the war and the postwar period, the same wheel that brought

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[1] This essay is the first of a series of bibliographical articles sponsored by the Conference on British Studies under the editorship of Elizabeth Chapin Furber. These essays will be concerned primarily with historical works which have appeared between 1937 and 1957. Great Britain and Ireland will be treated in subsequent essays and are not considered in this one.

[2] Since the British Empire has been called just that during most of its history, the term "Empire" or "Imperial" will be used here to mean both the present Commonwealth and the present dependent Empire.

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the Empire into prominence gave another turn. The newly-important colonies became more important still. As growth enabled one after another to read itself out of the dependent Empire and into the Commonwealth, their historians tended to read themselves out of the field of Imperial history. Canadians, New Zealanders, and Australians more and more cultivated their own gardens of national history, while Burmese and Sinhalese began talking about the "British period" of their distinct past, just as Americans had long before relegated their membership in the British Empire to a special "colonial period" of American history. These tendencies, especially in the older Dominions, were by no means new, but the "Balkanization" of Imperial history tended in the postwar decade to dissolve the whole in favor of the parts.

Nor was this the only threat to Imperial history as a field of study. While some Commonwealth historians moved toward the production of "national" history of their own countries, others, in the Commonwealth and elsewhere, began groping toward other, quite different, frames of reference. In the new, mid-twentieth-century setting, each country might make a specialty of the study of its own history, but it was clearly impossible to organize historical study so that each nation received equal weight. Yet the history of the non-European world in the modern period had to be taken into account. The question was: what new frame of organization was to emerge? So far, two strong possibilities have offered themselves, and both have developed to some extent out of the existing field of British Empire history.

On one hand historians became increasingly aware of other European empires. The British Empire was not a unique structure, but only the largest and latest of a whole species. This being the case, why not study the species as a whole, rather than take one individual in isolation? Why not look at "the expansion of Europe," rather than the expansion of British Europeans? Some universities—even Cambridge—added the new rubric "the expansion of Europe." By using the new approach, the modern world outside of Europe could be considered comparatively by concentrating on the most important single factor in the history of any individual country—the impact of the West.

Other historians took a different view. If the British Empire was not a unique political structure, neither was European culture the only culture worthy of specialized study. The unifying factor was not the impact of Europe, but the original cultural setting of each region of the world. The proper unit of study was "regional history." South Asia, East Asia, Southeast Asia, the Moslem world, Africa south of the Sahara, and Latin America

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each seemed to be an individual cultural entity. Its history should be seen from within, and the impact of British or other European expansion should be considered as an external influence. This tendency of thought was marked in the United States by the proliferation of regional "institutes" in many of the major universities, each of them avowedly "interdisciplinary" in organization and heavily supported by the funds of the philanthropic foundations. In England, the School of Oriental and African Studies at London University has shared in the trend. Symptomatically, its "Professor of the History of the British Dominions in Asia" recently became simply "Professor of Oriental History."

Both the ecumenical and the local tendencies pose a considerable future threat to the status of Imperial history as a recognized field of study. Neither tide, however, has yet run strongly enough to damage this status beyond repair. In Britain, the relative decline of Europe throws some added emphasis to the history of the Empire. In America, Imperial history has been a growing field, though at times it has grown at the expense of domestic British history. It is in the members of the Commonwealth, oddly enough, that the whole Empire has lost ground as a field of historical study—mainly for the sake of increased national history.

If Imperial history continues to hold its own, it will be partly because of a new breadth and vitality in recent historical writing. Following tendencies common to all areas of the historians' craft, the content of Imperial history has been changing in the past two decades. New depth has come to a field that was once dominantly constitutional and political, through the addition of social, economic, and intellectual history. New breadth has come through the production of first-rate works of synthesis.

To some extent, these changes have come because the problem of Empire, as seen by British policy makers, has itself changed. Dropping back twenty years to 1938, the Empire seemed to be mainly a constitutional entity. The achievement of the Statute of Westminster, the Edward VIII crisis, the set of problems surrounding the partial nonfunctioning of the Government of India Act of 1935—all of these called forth discussion, centered on the question of what Britain should do about the Empire. Since Imperial action was initially legislative, constitutional, and administrative, these things attracted the first attention of policy makers. They also attracted historians. The groundwork of Imperial constitutional and administrative history had been laid earlier in the century by A. B. Keith, G. L. Beer, and H. T. Manning, among others. In the later 1930's, the important new work often centered on current problems. Kenneth Clintan Wheare's *Statute of Westminster and*

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Dominion Status (London, 1938) and Robert MacGregor Dawson's *Development of Dominion Status* (London, 1937) explored the origins of the new Commonwealth relation. Arthur B. Keith's *A Constitutional History of India, 1600–1935* (London, 1936) looked for the background of the Government of India Act.

These works followed an older tradition of narrowly political and constitutional history. Valuable as they still are, they could hardly answer the problems of the time. Even as they were appearing, it was increasingly clear that India and Ireland would not easily follow the road to Dominion status taken by Canada two or three decades earlier. Lord Moyne's Commission in the West Indies and Lord Hailey's *An African Survey*[3] showed that things were not going well in the dependent Empire. A thicker and deeper kind of Imperial history was needed to give a new perspective, and this kind of history was provided by Sir Keith Hancock's *Survey of Commonwealth Affairs* (2 vols., London, 1937, 1942). It was a history of the Empire during the interwar decades, constitutional and political in basic emphasis, but it also showed how much of Imperial history had not been written by his predecessors. By giving a new direction and emphasis, Hancock did as much as any single historian to preserve the field of Imperial history from the threats of both localism and ecumenicalism.

The *Survey* first of all asked new questions. Historians had asked, "How has the Empire been run?" and by implication, "How should it be run?" These were proper questions for, say, 1920, but by 1939 new complications invalidated some of the old answers. Hancock began again by setting his study in a new framework, centered on the problem of the state in the modern world, and of political sovereignty in general. More than this, he showed by his treatment of discrete problems in various parts of the Empire that neither a merely local approach nor a merely Imperial approach could untangle the full complexity of the history.

This is not to say that the history of central policy dropped from the scene at the end of the 1930's. There was still important work of revision to be accomplished. Paul Knaplund's *James Stephen and the British Colonial System, 1813–1847* (Madison, Wis., 1953) completed the rehabilitation of Stephen's reputation. Robert L. Schuyler surveyed the transition from the first Empire to the second in *The Fall of the Old Colonial System* (New York, 1945). Other work followed the tradition of Hancock in dealing with the history of recent times. Nicholas Mansergh's *Survey of British Common-*

[3] Subtitles have frequently been omitted in the interests of preserving the free flow of the narrative.

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wealth Affairs: Problems of External Policy, 1931–1939, (London, 1952), the series of "Commonwealth Papers" edited by Sir Keith himself and, in a different way, the "Studies of Colonial Legislatures" edited by Margery Perham all carried on the work of filling in and giving depth to studies of the Imperial constitution.

A second influence tending to strengthen the field of Imperial history against the forces of localism was the writing of broad works of synthesis taking the whole Empire through a few decades. Charles M. Andrews' *Colonial Period of American History* (New Haven, Conn., 1934–37) went back over some of the ground covered earlier by Beer. Lawrence H. Gibson's *The British Empire before the American Revolution* (London, 1936–56; New York, 1958–) took in the whole Empire, and not merely the thirteen colonies. Gipson's synthesis is followed by Vincent T. Harlow's *The Founding of the Second British Empire, 1763–1793* (London), of which the first volume appeared in 1952. For the period after 1793, where Harlow will end, there are still no works of broad synthesis claiming to deal with the whole Empire. William P. Morrell's earlier *British Colonial Policy in the Age of Peel and Russell* (Oxford, Eng., 1930) is very nearly a work of synthesis, but it falls short by the fact that it is just what the title indicates—a study of colonial policy rather than a general history of the Empire. Much the same is true of Alexander Brady's admirable *Democracy in the Dominions* (Toronto, 1947). It deals with the comparative political development of the Dominions in the early twentieth century, but it is limited to the Dominions.

The lack of broad synthesis between Harlow's period and the present is not merely a matter of chance. Gipson's Empire and Harlow's Empire were relatively simple compared with the Empire of the later nineteenth century. Both Brady and Hancock were forced to take something less than the whole Empire as their field. Brady did it by leaving out the dependent Empire, Hancock did it dealing at one level with the general tendencies of "Commonwealth Affairs" and at another with specific problems in particular colonial areas. Both solutions are successful in meeting the authors' purpose, but the fact of having to resort to them underlines the problem of synthesis in more recent Imperial history.

The difficulty is reflected in text and reference works. The arrangement of the *Cambridge History of the British Empire* (8 vols. in 9, Cambridge, Eng., 1929–59) is typical of the way the Empire is presented to the student. Of the eight volumes, only the first three attempt to deal with the whole Empire, in three time segments broken at 1783 and 1870 and ending in 1921. The remaining five are, in fact, national volumes for the histories of

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the more important dominions, so much oriented toward purely national history that the two volumes for India are identical with Volumes V and VI of *The Cambridge History of India* (Cambridge, Eng., 1932–37). Recent textbooks have met the problem in much the same fashion. They are either mainly histories of central policy, like Eric Anderson Walker's *The British Empire, Its Structure and Spirit* (London, 1943), or else a series of separate studies of the principal events in each important region of the Empire, as in Paul Knaplund's *The British Empire, 1815–1939* (London, 1941) or Alfred L. Burt's *Evolution of the British Empire and Commonwealth, from the American Revolution* (Boston, 1956). If the result is a patchwork, the fault lies not so much with the authors as with the intractable nature of the material itself. Canadian political or economic history, for example, is not intelligible in isolation from events in the metropolis, and neither is Imperial policy intelligible in isolation from the domestic histories of the societies that made up the Empire. Simultaneous presentation of two or more strands of narrative, however, is technically almost impossible; while isolation of one strand for separate presentation does injustice to the complex realities of Imperial politics. This problem is one shared to some extent by all historical writing, but it is more severe where Imperial ties connected quite distinct societies to one another.

Recent historical writing in the Commonwealth and the emerging new states of the tropical world, however, has not been concerned so much with the problems of synthesis as with the development of distinct traditions of national history. Canadians, for example, were once more interested in the Empire and Commonwealth as a whole than they now are. In the later nineteenth century they felt they belonged to the Empire—not in the sense of being a British possession, but in a sense of membership. This feeling is no longer as strong as it once was. They still cling to their British heritage as a way of achieving identity against their monster neighbor to the south, just as they cling to their "North-Americanness" as a way of achieving identity as against the mother country. But there are changes. The tie to Britain means something, but the tie to the Commonwealth (to say nothing of the dependent Empire) means less and less. For historians, even the old political tie means less since the 1930's, and Canadian writers have lost interest in the constitutional and political problems centered on the attainment of responsible government. Chester Martin's *Foundations of Canadian Nationhood* (Toronto, 1955) is a symptom of the shift. In 1929, Martin produced *Empire and Commonwealth* (Oxford, Eng.), a series of six more or less connected essays on the development of Canada from the first Empire to

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the second Empire and on to the Commonwealth. He emphasized the achievement of political nationhood within a framework that was on the whole both Imperial and British. In the new work he finds more threads of Canadian nationhood in Canada itself and in its political expansion. He is more concerned with the individuality of the Canadian experience, and is little concerned with the similarities between that experience and the similar nation-building in the United States, or in the rest of the Commonwealth.

But even those Canadians who look for historical comparisons tend to look south of the long border rather than further south across the Pacific. As early as the 1920's, Canadian historians were applying Frederick Jackson Turner's "frontier thesis" to Canadian history.[4] But the "frontier thesis" was soon modified. Aside from the need of a growing nation to find its own identity, Canada was not simply a northern extension of the United States. One important line of modification came through the greater Canadian emphasis on the role of the metropolis in westward expansion. The important work of Harold Adams Innis in economic history stressed the transportation networks which provided a link between the metropolis and the frontier. The subject was further explored by Donald G. Creighton's *The Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence, 1760–1850* (New Haven, Conn., 1937), in which the central theme was the rivalry between Montreal and New York for the dominance of the Canadian (and American) West. Others, too, have taken up the role of the metropolis—the influence of London in Montreal, or Montreal's relations with satellites and rivals as diverse as St. Paul, Winnipeg, and Fort Churchill. The latest of the large-scale works on this theme are John S. Galbraith's *The Hudson's Bay Company as an Imperial Factor, 1821–1869* (Berkeley, Calif., 1957), stressing the metropolitan influence of London, and Marjorie W. Campbell's anti-Hudson Bay Company study of *The North West Company* (New York, 1957).

If "metropolitanism" has been one recent tendency of Canadian historiography, "Atlanticism" has been another. It is the belief that Canadian history must be seen in a wider framework than that of the national frontiers —that Canadian history makes sense without at the same time taking in the whole Empire or the whole European expansion. Yet it cannot be properly understood unless we look simultaneously at the economic and political history of the "Atlantic community" of Britain, Canada, and the United States. The "frontier thesis," with its recognition that Canadian and American pioneers

[4] For a recent discussion of the frontier thesis in Canadian history, see J. M. S. Careless, "Frontierism, Metropolitanism, and Canadian History," *Canadian Historical Review*, XXXV (Mar. 1954), 1–21.

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were developing a continent in common, was one parent of this view. Arthur S. Morton's *A History of the Canadian West to 1870–71* (New York, 1939) was important here, and the point was made still more explicitly in Marcus Lee Hansen's *The Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples* (New Haven, Conn., 1940). More recently both Joseph Kinsey Howard, with *Strange Empire: A Narrative of the Northwest* (New York, 1952), and Paul F. Sharp, with *Whoop-Up Country* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1955), have produced literate and important studies of the westward advance along the forty-ninth parallel. John Bartlett Brebner's *North Atlantic Triangle* (New York) followed in 1945, filling in the political and economic aspects of Canadian-American-British interrelations, and Gerald S. Graham's *Empire of the North Atlantic* (Toronto, 1950) used the Atlantic concept in a study of Empire and sea power during the eighteenth century.

It is a point of some interest that many have begun research into some smaller part of the Atlantic community and have later found themselves drawn into "Atlanticism" by the nature of the material itself. Brebner, for example, began to study Canadian-American relations alone and found that it could not be done intelligently without reference to Great Britain. More recently, Brinley Thomas began a study of migration patterns within the Commonwealth and found in the end that he had to add the United States —that the Commonwealth alone was not a useful unit for migration studies. The result was *Migration and Economic Growth: A Study of Great Britain and the Atlantic Economy* (Cambridge, Eng., 1954).

But the greater bulk of recent Canadian historical work lies outside the scope of both "metropolitanism" and "Atlanticism." Though a purely quantitative measurement is suspicious, some of the main lines can be seen in the lists of doctoral theses in progress announced annually in the *Canadian Historical Review*. A rough tabulation of the announcement for 1955 shows the following totals:

Economic History and Economic Policy	23
Local Political History	18
Foreign Relations	14
National Political History	8
Imperial History	8
Migration History	6
Intellectual and Cultural History	4
Biography	3
Other	4

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As a measure of the change in historical interest, this list can be set against the pattern of the Canadian volume of the *Cambridge History of the British Empire,* published in 1930. Only four chapters in twenty-eight were devoted to economic or financial history. Only one was devoted to foreign relations —and then only if "Canada in the World War" can be considered as foreign relations. None was specifically concerned with immigrants or where they came from. In the 1955 list, the relative rise of economic history, and of provincial and local history is outstanding. The field of Canadian foreign relations, which hardly existed two decades ago, has in many ways replaced the interest in the Empire and Imperial affairs. Canadian scholars today are clearly more concerned than ever with the specifically Canadian past and with Canada's place in the world. They are much less interested in Canadian relations with the Commonwealth as such, or even in Canadian relations with the mother country in particular.

The same pattern is reproduced in Australia and New Zealand, with the same lack of interest in the history of the Commonwealth as such, the same shift from political and constitutional to economic history and foreign relations, the same search for an identity. But there are also differences. "Canadianism" is not the same as "New Zealandism," and even Australia and New Zealand see themselves differently in the mirror of the past.[5]

In both countries, however, historiography has reflected the tendencies of thought in general. Both showed an early optimism about the future, a belief that they were creating a nation in a desired image. In Australia it was the image of material welfare, fair shares, and a nearly classless society. In New Zealand it was that of a newer and better England in the southern seas, leading a charmed life far from the ills of the Old World. The looming giant of the United States was absent. Europe was far away. If Asia seemed to loom at times, it, too, loomed at a distance. A great deal of early Australasian history was, following this belief, something of a success story. Settlers came, defeated hardships, and made a new life for themselves. Miners came looking for gold and ended by founding a democracy. If the Maori Wars were forgotten by most or covered over by pride in a later and more successful "native policy," so were the "bad old days" of convict settlement either forgotten or taken to have little influence on the new Australia that was emerging.

But the Australasian dreams were shaken by the depressions of the 1890's and the 1930's, by the wars of the 1910's and the 1940's. In the 1930's and even

[5] See J. C. Beaglehole, "The Development of New Zealand Nationality," *Journal of World History,* II (no. 1, 1954), and R. M. Crawford, "The Australian National Character in Myth and Reality," *ibid.* (no. 3, 1955), 704–27.

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earlier there began a process of reassessment that has continued after the Second World War. As in Allen Curnow's "Unhistoric Story,"

> The Pilgrim dream pricked by a cold dawn died
> Among the chemical farmers, the fresh towns; among
> Miners, not husbandmen, who pierced the side
> Let the land's life, found like all who had so long
>
> Bloodily or tenderly striven
> To rearrange the given
> It was something different, something
> Nobody counted on.[6]

Historians embarked on the search for a new identity, and for an explanation of why it was "something different, something nobody counted on." Some New Zealanders took up the background of the welfare state, like Leslie Lipson in the mildly disenchanted *Politics of Equality* (Chicago, 1948). The main emphasis of writing in New Zealand, however, was the reconstruction of New Zealand's past on a district-by-district basis. A survey of New Zealand historical writing from 1948 to 1955 lists no less than seventy-nine district histories, by far the largest category of historical writing for the period.[7] During the same years (leaving aside studies on the Second World War), not half a dozen works appeared in New Zealand on any aspect of Imperial history in any wider sense.

The course of recent historiography in Australia has been somewhat different. Australians have tended to paint on a somewhat larger canvas, and in addition to local history they have worked more with social, economic, and intellectual history at the state or national level. The social and economic emphasis is, in itself, a part of the pattern of Australian development. Just as the Australian tradition was one of social and economic equality, so have historians followed that tradition from the time of Timothy A. Coghlan's monumental *Labour and Industry in Australia,* which appeared in four volumes during the First World War (London, 1918). It was continued by Stephen H. Roberts and Edward O. G. Shann during the interwar years and has continued even more persistently since then. The Australian slant toward social history is evident in the choice that Charles M. H. Clark and L. J. Pryor made of material for their *Select Documents in Australian History* (2 vols., Sydney, 1950, 1955), and in the more recent cooperative work edited by Gordon Greenwood, *Australia: A Social and Political History* (Sydney, 1955). As new works that are already "standard," these two set the canon of "received" Australian history for the postwar period.

[6] *A Book of New Zealand Verse 1923–1950,* ed. Allen Curnow (Christchurch, 1951).
[7] *Historical Studies—Australia and New Zealand,* VII (Nov. 1955), 112–17.

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New research has taken a similar direction. Noel G. Butlin, in particular, has been working on a general reinterpretation of economic history during the second half of the nineteenth century, which he presented tentatively at the Canberra History Conference in 1957. If Butlin's work represents "pure" economic history, other writers shade off toward social history on one hand and intellectual history on the other. Some thirty theses on phases of the Australian labor movement have been undertaken since the Second World War. On the borders of economic and intellectual history, John A. La Nauze's *Political Economy in Australia* (Melbourne, 1949) bridges the gap between the Australian economy and the "Australian mind." Here again there is support from an older Australian tradition of interest in the national character and national literature, an interest marked by a peak of interpretive achievement in Sir Keith Hancock's *Australia* (London, 1930). More recently Raymond M. Crawford's essay *Australia* (New York, 1952), Vance Palmer's *Legend of the Nineties* (Melbourne, 1954), Sidney J. Baker's *Australian Language* (London, 1945), and George Nadel's *Australia's Colonial Culture* (Cambridge, Mass., 1957) have followed the interest in intellectual history. A series of anthologies and studies of Australian literature also represent a part of the search for the essential Australian character.

Nor are Australian historians in agreement about the nature or the origins of "Australianness." Some, like Brian Fitzpatrick, find the center of Australian history in the class struggle—a struggle both within Australia and between Australian workers and British capitalists. Australian nationalism and even Australian nationality can be seen as a product of this struggle. Others find the core of the Australian ethos in the "outback" of the bush ranger, the bush ballad, shearers' unions, "mateship," and a frontier democracy where all were equal in a common struggle against an unfriendly nature. This interpretation, though similar to the American "frontier thesis," was not derived from Turner. Australian journalists, if not historians, had discovered the uses of the outback egalitarianism well before Turner, and it was not until Frederick Alexander's brief *Moving Frontiers* (Melbourne, 1947) that a serious effort was made in Australia to compare the American and Australian frontiers.

In addition to the "frontier" school of Australian history, there is also a "metropolitan" school. It is less developed than Canadian metropolitanism, but it stresses the rule of the capital cities and denies the frontier origins of Australian democracy. These writers emphasize the importation of British liberalism in the nineteenth century. They point to the role of the urban middle class in defeating the "squatters" in the political battles of the 1850's,

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and some even suggest that the "bush" legend was invented in Melbourne and Sydney for partisan political purposes—specifically, in order to identify Australian nationalism with collectivist political ideas. With this, the ethos of the outback becomes an ideology, and we have come full circle—back to the quasi-Marxian interpretation.

Historical writing in and about India and Pakistan has not followed a course essentially different from that followed in Australia, New Zealand, or Canada. There is the same lack of interest in the history of the whole Empire, the same concentration on new work in local and provincial history, the same search for a national identity. But Indian nationalism was different from Canadian or New Zealand nationalism. It was a movement of protest against foreign rule rather than merely a restless self-assertion within the framework of self-government. Indian historians before the First World War took one line while British historians of India took another. Indian historians featured repressive aspects of British rule, the sins of administration, and Indian rebellions against it. British historians, on the other hand, seemed to write a history of, for, and sometimes by the administration. Constitutional, political, and legal developments were given special importance. The administrative actions of the rulers were emphasized at the expense of the social consequences they produced among the ruled. Although there were exceptions to all these tendencies, the British *raj* was too often represented as the end of the long road of Indian history, rather than merely the latest of a series of epochs—and one that would also pass away in time.

With the arrival of independence, reassessment came from both sides. The British period was over, and historians could do their work better now that they had some idea of how the story would end. The old emphasis on the problems of administration still left some mark on British thought, but the end of responsibility brought a new perspective. Englishmen could now sit down to a final retrospect and ask, "How well did we do? Where did we do badly, and where were we at our best?" Within a half-dozen years two works of high quality and broad scope attacked these questions. Sir Percival Griffiths' *The British Impact on India* (London, 1952) took up the problem in its institutional aspects. Philip Mason, writing under the pen name Philip Woodruff, produced *The Men Who Ruled India* (London, 1953–54), which turned more to the personal side of the British *raj*. In spite of the excellence of these works, British historians have not finished their reassessment.

The same sort of broad reassessment is also being done from the Indian side, and it will surely continue for some decades more. Kavalam Madhava

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Panikkar's *Asia and Western Dominance* (London, 1953) is one example, with a broad view stretching to all of Asia. In a narrower field, N. V. Sovani's two articles in the *Journal of World History* for 1954 are a dispassionate assessment of British rule, and mainly of its economic aspects.[8] Another example of the new objectivity is Surendra Nath Sen's *1857* (Delhi, 1957), a balanced history of the great Mutiny after a century during which many Indian historians wrote about it partly in the cause of Indian nationalism and only partly in the cause of scholarship.

Another kind of recent Indian historiography growing out of independence is the history of the nationalist movement. There have been biographies of Jinnah, Gandhi, Nehru, and Tilak, reflecting to a greater or less extent the kind of hagiography that dealt with Washington in the first generation after the American Revolution. Other work has been more general, dealing with some part of the movement as a whole. Aksayakumar Ramanlal Desai's *Social Background of Indian Nationalism* (Oxford, Eng., 1948), and "Minoo" Masani's *Communist Party of India* (London, 1954) are among the increasing number of works in this class. In addition, Indian historians reflect the coming of independence in their concern with foreign policy. As in Canada, studies have begun to appear that trace Indian foreign policy back into the period when it was managed by British officials.

Along with the necessary reassessment and history of nationalism, there has been new and original work on the more distant past by both Indian and foreign historians. They have gone back over the fields covered earlier, clearing up, straightening out, and deepening the places where investigation has been shallow. Perhaps the most important general result of this work is to point out the extent to which the British *raj* was not a single organism. Instead, it was only a superstructure, covering, but not entirely obscuring, the vast variety of South Asian life. Here, as in Canada and Australia, the new movement toward economic and social history came into its own. Holden Furber's *John Company at Work* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948) did much to set the trend by emphasizing the commercial operations of the British East India Company rather than the more spectacular crimes and achievements of Clive and Hastings. It was followed by Sukumar Bhattacharya's *East India Company and the Economy of Bengal* (London, 1954), dealing with the earlier eighteenth century. In 1956 Narendra Sinha published the first volume of his *Economic History of Bengal* (Calcutta), this one covering the period from Plassey to the Permanent Settlement, while

[8] N. V. Sovani, "British Impact on India before 1850–57," and "British Impact on India after 1850–57," *Journal of World History*, I (no. 4, 1954), 857–82; II (no. 7, 1954), 77–105.

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Amales Tripathi brought out *Trade and Finance in the Bengal Presidency, 1793–1833* (Bombay). British historians have also turned to the social and economic history of India, as in the work of Kenneth Ballhatchet on *Social Policy and Social Change in Western India 1817–30* (Oxford, Eng., 1957). Taken together, these works represent two new tendencies of Indian historiography. Following the process of reassessing the British period, they have overturned once and for all the "black legend" of British financial policy that Romesh Chandra Dutt developed during the struggle for independence. But their more important contribution has been to shift the framework of investigation from the whole of India to a single province. A great deal more work of similar scope must be done before the outlines of Indian history in the British period can be called complete.

Recent trends in the historical writing about South Africa have been somewhat different from those in other members of the Commonwealth. South Africa's recent history has itself been different. Embittered relations between the English-speaking and the Afrikaans-speaking segments of the white community, the rise of the Nationalist party, and a new awakening of the African majority have all had their influence on historiography. The Afrikaners, to be sure, have looked for the historical roots of their national identity, just as the Canadians or Australians have done. This is no new development; but after Jan Smuts's passing the Empire meant very little. The "double nationalism" of Empire and country, which was never very strong in the Afrikaner community, now began to disappear altogether. Afrikaans history not only ignored the "Imperial factor" and concentrated on local events, it also returned to the early and middle nineteenth century, to the period of the Great Trek and its aftermath. The spread of white settlement into the interior took on the proportions of an Afrikaner national epic. One might call this a movement toward "frontierism," but it was not the same kind of frontier as elsewhere. It was not the frontier of "mateship" or Clear-Grit radicalism, nor simply a conquest over nature or an unfriendly environment. It was first of all the conquest of an alien and "barbarous" people who already held the land. Rather than looking to this frontier for the roots of democratic institutions, the Afrikaners have been searching for a parochial tradition that could stand up against the outside influence of British liberalism. They have not only revived the republican traditions of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State; some have even turned to the former republics for traditions of nonparliamentary government and of one-party rule.

English-speaking South Africans, British historians, and foreigners have taken a different line. They, too, have tried to explain the present by

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investigating the past. They, too, have asked, "How have things come to be as they are?" Their difference with the Afrikaners lies in their interpretation of the present. Where one group sees mainly the rise and triumph of the Afrikaner nation, the other sees mainly the rise of racial tension, the failure of liberalism, and the failure of the Empire. On the English-language side, there was once a period of self-congratulation over the liberal peace of Vereeniging and the formation of the Union, but it barely lasted into the 1920's. Later in the decade, W. M. Macmillan was already writing the history of nineteenth-century "native policy" with the implicit question, "Where did we fail?" The question was asked again in the earlier works of the Dutch-born Cornelis W. de Kiewiet. It was developed further in the detailed treatment of "The Settlers' Frontier in Southern Africa," in the final volume of Sir Keith Hancock's *Survey of British Commonwealth Affairs* (New York, 1942). De Kiewiet returned to the problem during the war and presented his interpretation in a general work, *A History of South Africa, Social and Economic* (Oxford, Eng., 1946). Some South African historians, like Arthur Keppel-Jones, have followed in the same tradition.

However different this tradition may be from that of the Africaners, it would be a mistake to think of it as anti-Boer history. These historians deplore the present condition of South Africa without blaming one segment or the other of the dominant minority. The failures may have come partly with the rise of a Boer nationalism, but they also came through the racial attitudes of the white (and originally English-speaking) trade-unions, through the peculiarities of South African economic growth, and through the failures of British liberalism itself. Hancock dealt with some of the failures of liberalism during the interwar years. G. B. Pyrah's *Imperial Policy and South Africa, 1902–1910* (Oxford, Eng., 1955) went back to the crucial period of the "transfer of power," when Liberal statesmen abdicated their responsibilities and turned South Africa over to the white minority in the name of Liberal principles. On the other side, Sheila Patterson's *The Last Trek* (London, 1957) traces the development of the Afrikaner mentality from the nineteenth century, when the Boers were an "out-group" suffering under what they conceived as British oppression. She shows how much of the old attitude remains, even though the Afrikaners are now clearly the dominant minority in their own country. Gwendolen M. Carter's *Politics of Equality* (New York, 1958) fills in the political history of the last ten years with an evenhanded condemnation.

Amid the diversity of interpretation in recent South African history, it is worth noting that neither the English-speaking nor the Afrikaans-speaking

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historians have paid much attention to the history of the African peoples who make up the vast majority of the country. There is, however, a third tradition of South African historiography. Some writers, though rarely the professional historians, have made a beginning at investigating African history in the southern part of the continent. Much of the work in this field rests on a base of long standing. A. T. Bryant and J. Y. Gibson began publishing Zulu history and tradition early in this century. In 1931 F. H. Dutton translated Thomas Mofolo's classic *Shaka* into English from Sesuto (Oxford, Eng.) More recently, Ernest A. Ritter, in *Shaka Zulu* (London, 1955) tried to see Shaka as the Zulus saw him.

Although Zulu history has held a special fascination for Europeans, other regions have received increasing attention in recent decades. Heinrich Vedder's *Das alte Südwestafrika* (Berlin, 1934), an excellent reconstruction of tribal history and the history of the European conquest, was translated into English in 1938 under the title, *South West Africa in Early Times* (London). Isaac Schapera's *The Bantu-Speaking Tribes of South Africa* (London, 1956) contains a great deal of history, though unhistorically presented. Within a smaller scope, G. Tylden's *Rise of the Basuto* (Cape Town, 1950) is a concise synthesis of the history of Basutoland from the Basuto point of view, and A. Sillery's *Sechele* (Oxford, Eng., 1954) is one of the best of a number of biographies of important African leaders. Most of these works deal with pre-European Africa, but there is also a history of Africans under European rule. Bengst G. M. Sundkler's *Bantu Prophets in South Africa* (London, 1948) tells a great deal more about what happened to African culture in the twentieth century than the formal historical works usually do.

The fact that most of these authors were not professional historians is a symptom of the status of history north of the Limpopo as well. The early writers and collectors of history were (and still are, to a large extent) administrators, missionaries, or anthropologists. The professional historians seemed determined to leave the field of African history—as opposed to the history of European activity in Africa—to amateurs or to members of other disciplines. Some of the best of the older generation of historians, like Sir Reginald Coupland, held that there was no African history before the nineteenth century. This was certainly true before the First World War, in the sense that there was no body of historical knowledge about Africa. There were occasional works, like those of Raymond L. Buell, John W. Blake, Samuel Johnson, Edward W. Bovill, William W. Claridge, or Elizabeth Donnan's collection of slave-trade documents. But, in general, to find an adequate history of any part of Africa for any period was the exception rather than the rule.

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Certain aspects of African history, however, were dealt with more thoroughly than others. Historians were especially interested in the diplomacy of imperialism and the relations between the European powers scrambling for Africa in the decades before 1900. But they were much less interested in the diplomacy between the Europeans and the African states, and they tended to recolor the map on the basis of European agreements, without bothering about the actual conquest of the country. Africa, in short, was treated as a large block of real estate, and the Africans were not thought sufficiently civilized to be treated as protagonists of history.

For the period after the European conquest, the principal interest of British scholars was administration and administrative history—an interest clearly derived from the British administrative responsibility for a large part of Africa. In this field they produced historical work of a high quality, much of which was summed up in the historical sections of Lord Hailey's *African Survey: A Study of Problems Arising in Africa South of the Sahara* (London, 1938; rev. ed., 1957). The *Survey* and the work that went before it, however, were not historical in their basic purpose, and in the final presentation the historical material is treated merely as a background for contemporary administrative problems.

With the Second World War and the postwar period a new generation of historians appeared who took seriously the problem of writing African history. They found large areas untouched by previous research, and they found a preliminary job of removing old errors—beginning with the belief that there was no African history before the coming of the Europeans, and no purpose to writing the history of African activities even after that date. Though they still left most pre-European African history to the anthropologists, they did some of their most effective work in the period just before the European conquest, where European records are available.

For West Africa, K. Onwuka Dike's *Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta* (Oxford, Eng., 1956) struck a new balance in weighing the African and European aspects of Anglo-African relations, without at the same time trying to redress past errors by glorifying the African past for the sake of present nationalism. Saburi O. Biobaku's *The Egba and Their Neighbours* (Oxford, Eng., 1957) is the history of an African people, rather than a history of political and economic contact between Africans and Europeans, and it shows how much "straight" African history can be reconstructed from European archives. W. E. F. Ward's *History of the Gold Coast* (London, 1948) is based on oral tradition, while another step toward the reconsideration of African history is John D. Fage's *Atlas of African History* (Lon-

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don, 1958), which gives full weight to African as well as European activity.

The Sudan has been another center of historical activity. The sum of the work of British and Sudanese alike is a fuller reconstruction of the history of the Sudan than of any part of tropical Africa except Ghana. Mekki Shibeika's *British Policy in the Sudan, 1882–1902* (London, 1952) is an objective account of the Mahdiyya. For a later period, Saad ed din Fawzi's *The Labour Movement in the Sudan 1946–1955* (London, 1957) is an important contribution to the history of African nationalism and the coming of independence, a field that is receiving increasing attention. Richard Hill's work on bibliography and biography provides reference tools not generally available for African history. Anthony J. Arkell has recently summarized the earlier history of the country in his *History of the Sudan to* A.D. *1821* (London, 1954), while John S. Trimingham provides another kind of basic summary, this time of religion, ethnography, and politics in his *Islam in the Sudan* (London, 1949). With all this new work, however, there are still wide gaps, notably the virtually untouched period of the Egyptian occupation of 1821 to 1881.

Elsewhere in British tropical Africa historical work has been more scattered, and historians have tended to concentrate on the Imperial theme more than they have done in most of the Commonwealth. There have been important biographies of Sir Harry Johnston by Roland A. Oliver in 1957 and of Lord Lugard by Margery Perham in 1956. The missionary movement has been increasingly studied, first of all by Charles P. Groves in his multivolume *The Planting of Christianity in Africa* (4 vols., London, 1948–58), which appeared from 1948 onward. Both Roland A. Oliver's *Missionary Factor in East Africa* (London, 1952) and A. J. Hanna's *The Beginnings of Nyasaland and North-Eastern Rhodesia, 1859–1895* (Oxford, Eng., 1956) are important studies of the role of missionaries in the European conquest.

But in tropical Africa as in South Africa, some of the most important work—important, that is, for its impact on historical knowledge—is being done by researchers from other disciplines. Probably the most important change in the interpretation of African history in recent decades is the contribution of the American linguist Joseph H. Greenberg, whose *Studies in African Linguistic Classification* (New Haven, Conn., 1955) forced a complete reconsideration of the Hamite problem and effectively destroyed the old hypotheses about the movement of peoples and cultures in pre-European Africa. The anthropologists have recorded a great deal of tribal history which may sometime be useful, though at present it is scattered and uncoordinated. More important, they have contributed greatly to history in their studies of

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social change under the impact of European rule. Lloyd A. Fallers' *Bantu Bureaucracy* (Cambridge, Eng., 1957) can serve as an example of this work. Formally, it is a study of the Soga and the impact of European administration on the native political system, and the basic orientation is anthropological. At least 80 per cent of the work, however, is history in everything but name, and it is better history than many historians are now writing about Africa. Much the same might be said of Arnold L. Epstein's *Politics in an Urban African Community* (Manchester, 1958), which deals with the recent history of Northern Rhodesia, or of David E. Apter's *Gold Coast in Transition* (Princeton, N. J., 1955) for the transfer of power in Ghana. Whoever does the writing, it is clear that the history of British tropical Africa has been transformed and is still being transformed into a new body of knowledge, in which the recognized "history of Africa" as it existed in 1938 will form only a small part.

The history of other scattered parts of the dependent Empire has taken a course similar to that of African history. Like the history of the Empire as a whole, the prewar history of the dependent Empire was largely a history of British administration, put together from the official prints, memoirs, and the official records at the Public Record Office. These records are invaluable, of course, but they are not the only sources for Imperial history. They were, furthermore, gathered with a certain selectivity—by administrators and for purposes of administration. Sir Keith Hancock tells of having prepared in London a manuscript on the Maltese constitution. He later went to Malta with the intention of adding a little local color and filling in a few gaps, but he found from local experience that he had to tear up his draft and begin again.[9] Too many historians never made the trip at all, and their manuscripts ended in print rather than in the wastebasket. Fortunately, this sole dependence on London is passing, and with its passing a revision of the history of each of the smaller colonies is beginning, often with a broadening leven of social and economic and intellectual history, and with some techniques borrowed from other social sciences.

These trends are actually those common to the history of central policy or to the history of any of the larger members of the Commonwealth. There is in the best new history of any part the realization that the history of the Empire cannot be written solely within the local or solely within the Imperial frame of reference. Neither the narrow local circle of vision nor the circle of vision of the metropolitan center—equally narrow, in its own way—is adequate. When two societies are connected politically and economically and

[9] Sir Keith Hancock, *Country and Calling* (London, 1954), 156.

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intellectually as part of a single Empire, however amorphous, both societies must be considered simultaneously before the history of either can be made truly intelligible. In the long run, it is this fact, which Hancock recognized in the 1930's, that has kept Imperial history a viable unit of study in spite of the disruptive tendencies of fission and fusion.

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Reviews of Books

General

A HISTORY OF WESTERN MORALS. By *Crane Brinton*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. c. 1959. Pp. x, 502. $7.50.)

Crane Brinton's latest work is even more ambitious than its title suggests. He not only covers the history of Western morals from their origins in the ancient East through Israel, Greece, Rome, and early Christianity to the contemporary world; he tries at every point to size up the actual state of morals. It is relatively easy to define the accepted moral ideals of a society, but he must then ask whether people really admired these ideals, or merely said or thought they did, and to what extent their behavior conformed to them. On both counts he has also to distinguish between ruling classes and masses, intellectuals and ordinary people. He has to heed, and to discount, the inveterate complaints of moralists through the ages. He is embarrassed by a dearth of reliable information about social behavior until recent centuries, but since then by a wealth of conflicting evidence. At all times Brinton knows that he is dealing with strictly immeasurable factors, both spiritual and material, in complex, multiple interrelations. And he commits himself to none of the traditional or the fashionable schools of interpretation and judgment—Christian, Darwinian, Spenglerian, Marxist, Freudian, or what have you. Hence few readers, I suspect, will consider his book profound.

Nevertheless it impresses me as the most sensible and genuinely sophisticated book yet done on the subject. It takes full advantage of the resources now available to historians, which explain why Lecky could not have written so searching a study even had he not been so fervent a rationalist and moralist. Brinton draws not only on the impressive historical research since Lecky's time, but on such studies as anthropology, philology, sociology, psychology, and semantics. At the same time, he avoids the common abuses of these studies, and the fashionable simplicities of determinism and positivism. He knows that conscious ideas and ideals do influence behavior, even though their influence can never be measured; he is unafraid to use terms that positivists have labeled "meaningless" because they are necessarily imprecise or refer to ideas strictly unverifiable. He is aware of all the traps both revealed and created by the new perspectives.

His main conclusions are therefore more or less inconclusive. They are typified by his treatment of the faith of the Enlightenment, which is still the ruling faith of our society (and essentially, I think, his own). He points out what real differences have resulted from the novel belief that poverty and misery are remediable, not ordained by the law of nature or the will of God. He also points out the limitations and the excesses of this secular optimism, and he can discern no

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clear, steady moral progress. His judgment of the humanitarian ideals of the Enlightenment, as of all other ethical ideals, is tempered by an awareness that in spite of all the relativities, Western men have always substantially agreed on such basic virtues as honesty, loyalty, kindness, and self-control, such basic vices as lying, treachery, cruelty, and selfishness, and by his belief that the "rough average conduct" of men—neither very good nor very bad—has varied little with place or time.

Brinton pays some price, to be sure, for his kind of good sense. His constant effort to be balanced and judicious involves a good deal of repetition, as well as too many double negatives ("not unimportant"). He is continually leaning over backwards, which is an admirable posture but an awkward one, now and then wearisome. Because his own sympathies are evidently liberal, he is self-consciously and perhaps unfairly critical of liberals. As an intellectual he is as self-consciously critical of intellectuals, and goes out of his way to write for twentieth-century Americans, not for posterity. One who is weary of the pontifical manner of Toynbee ("In the year A.D. 1956, when the author of this Study was . . . ," for example) may still feel that Brinton's informal style can be too chatty and personal. Similarly with his habit of topical allusion, as to Marilyn Monroe. An appreciative reader may be heartened as well as sobered by the thought that the next generation is likely to know nothing of Miss Monroe, yet regret that so basically solid and wise a book should be so deliberately dated.

But I do not wish to be stuffy either. Brinton's history is not only highly readable, but displays—or better, makes no display of—an exceptionally wide learning that goes deep enough. Even its inconclusiveness may be refreshing in the year of alarm A.D. 1959. Brinton may help men to keep their heads, and possibly their hearts, too, when he observes that he can make out no clear historical correlation between high moral standards in a society and its material prosperity, cultural achievements, "happiness," or prospects for survival.

Indiana University HERBERT J. MULLER

THE RAPE OF EUROPE. By *Luis Díez del Corral.* Translated from the Spanish by *H. V. Livermore.* (New York: Macmillan Company. 1959. Pp. 310. $5.75.)

THIS is a perplexing book. On the one hand, it is a work of literary-philosophical speculation, loose in structure, and ranging over the whole course of European history. In this first guise, the author draws on the example of Hegel, Comte, Dilthey, and Ortega—the last of whom is quite evidently his master—and even of more doubtful preceptors like Heidegger and Spengler. The method is unashamedly intuitive: his aim, the author tells us, is "to take in a whole panorama, or find the cardinal points in a horizon," to emulate the sort of "visual intelligence that fills the works of a Ranke or a Burckhardt."

At the same time, *The Rape of Europe* rises far above the level of com-

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parable essays on the past and future of Western civilization. The author's learning is enormous: he is equally at home in the classics and in the works of such contemporary American analysts of urban society as Lewis Mumford. And he rejects any notion of tight schematization. His aim, rather, is to capitalize on the unusual perspective offered by Spain to warn his fellow Europeans of the paradoxical historical fate which they are experiencing, and which Spaniards understand better than the rest, since it hit them earlier.

This fate is metaphorically expressed in the ancient myth of Europa and the bull, and it is under its "invocation" that the author places his book. The contemporary version of the myth runs as follows: Western civilization, the exquisite, unique product of three millennia of slow construction, with its pluralism, its refined articulations, and its tense equilibrium between spiritual and technical concerns—this legacy of an unrepeatable concatenation of historical circumstances has been literally gutted and raped by the non-European world. And in the efficiency and ruthlessness of their exploitation these new or newly awakened societies have rapidly surpassed their masters: the vast spaces at their command and the passive, plastic character of their populations have permitted them all sorts of short cuts. Thus they have been able to turn the arts of Europe against the original inventors—and the final paradox of the matter is that the victim (as in the myth) has consented to her own disgrace through loss of nerve and senseless self-division.

Such is the theme that *The Rape of Europe* pursues through a fascinating series of chapters on city and countryside, the secularization of religion, alienation in art, nation and supernation, and Europe as the "sorcerer's apprentice" of modern technology. Sometimes pretentious, frequently wordy, each chapter offers enough in the way of originality and illumination to make it worth reading. Indeed the whole book deserves careful attention providing it is read in the proper way—not as history in the strict sense but as variations on a theme, a pastiche of a Bach fugue, which its author, in company with Spengler, regards as the "supreme gospel of Europe's supreme art."

Harvard University H. Stuart Hughes

LAW IN DIPLOMACY. By *Percy E. Corbett.* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press for the Center of International Studies, Princeton University. 1959. Pp. xii, 290. $6.00.)

Here is a beautiful piece of work, distilled from a profound knowledge of the law and of history, expressed in great nicety of language and apt metaphor. As to its content, it is reasonable to presume that it will become a basic requirement for students of diplomatic history, international law, and international relations. Would that every senator and foreign service officer might read it too! It goes fearlessly straight to the heart of a fundamental question: how much does law prevail against national interest and power in international society, as it really does

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within the body politic of a nation? Not too much, thinks Professor Corbett: only to the extent that national interest can afford to accept it within the power situation.

To reach this conclusion the author goes back to the nebulous beginnings of the so-called law of nations, then traces the evolution of these principles, particularly in the history of Great Britain, the United States, and Russia. The record of each is spotted with inconsistencies between the invocation of legal principles and the pressure of national interests: witness, as examples, the history of *mare liberum* versus *mare clausum,* or that of the principles of the freedom of the seas. Corbett then runs the gamut of issues before arbitration tribunals and the more recent League of Nations, United Nations, and their judicial organs, the succeeding courts of international justice. Not without some occasional encouraging gains in the progress of law, they exhibit the same basic conflict between national interest and precepts of international law. If within the variegated history of the western nations, notably the United States and the entities of the Commonwealth of Nations, some hopeful progress had been made, further advance is now blocked by the implacable opposition in tenets and goals of the revolutionary Soviet Union and its satellites.

"Law fares rather badly in diplomacy," Corbett concludes. "It seeks to correct human weaknesses: diplomacy accommodates them. Between the two there is an invisible strain, and at a certain tension the law breaks." He pays tribute to the more objective contributions of legal advisers and jurists, but believes that they cannot much lighten the strains between diplomacy and law until there is a supranational authority to give sanction. "But the great question posed by nuclear fission and fusion is whether there will be time for such evolution."

Stiff medicine, this book, but indicated!

Yale University SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS

POLITICAL ORIGINS OF THE NEW DIPLOMACY, 1917–1918. By *Arno J. Mayer.* [Yale Historical Publications, Studies 18.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1959. Pp. xiv, 435. $6.00.)

THIS volume, the title of which does not give a clear indication of what it is about, is concerned with the conflict over war aims and peace proposals in the countries involved in World War I from the outbreak of the Russian Revolution in March 1917 to the enunciation of President Wilson's Fourteen Points in January 1918. In the view of the author, the conflict had two aspects. Not only was there conflict between policies of expansion and conquest on the one hand and the slogan of no annexations on the other, but there was also a struggle between the Right—"traditionalists," Mr. Mayer calls them—who were in power, and the Left—the "parties of movement"—who aspired to power. Before the Russian Revolution and the intervention of the United States, the Right expansionists, be-

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cause of the political truce agreed upon in August 1914, had little trouble on either side in keeping the Left antiexpansionists in order. By the end of 1917, however, some Conservatives in England had abandoned the idea of the "knock out," and Labour had to a considerable extent also broken away, so that Lloyd George was forced to take a less intransigent line in his speech of January 5, 1918. On the other hand, although Wilson had become the champion of the New Diplomacy ("open covenants openly arrived at") and a peace of moderation, he had also proclaimed the necessity of overthrowing the military monarchy in Germany —while conservatives in Europe were reluctant to urge revolution in Germany lest it lead to Bolshevism.

In telling this story Mayer has been able to use the papers of Wilson, Lansing, House, Walter Hines Page, and William H. Buckler (a member of the American Embassy in London); of E. D. Morel, the Union of Democratic Control, and the Labour party; and the German foreign office archives deposited in the National Archives. He is able to throw much new light on the activities of those groups in Britain and France who opposed annexations and conquest, and his own sympathies clearly lie with them. In his impatience with the Allied government, which refused to abandon or to publish the "secret treaties," he seems sometimes to forget that these groups represented small minorities in both Britain and France and possessed little influence in their respective parliaments.

What started the debate of 1917 was the call of the Petrograd Soviet—curiously enough, the author does not describe this body or explain the sources of its power —for a peace of no annexations and no indemnities, a program that was anathema to both sides in the war. Mayer tells clearly the story of the abortive Stockholm conference, the Reichstag peace resolution, and the failure of the Allies to respond to the plea of the Russian provisional government for a restatement of war aims. If this failure of London and Paris to heed the cry from Petrograd (and the advice of the British and French representatives there) led to the fall of the provisional government, the establishment of the Bolshevist power, and the withdrawal of Russia from the war, it must be remembered that the Allied governments deeply resented what they considered the disloyalty of the Russian Revolution. Moreover, psychologically they could not bring themselves to take the steps that the situation —with the wisdom of hindsight—demanded. If the German government gained a momentary advantage by allowing Lenin to cross Germany into Russia, it paid dearly for this in 1918. Mistakes in dealing with the new Russia were not limited to the Allies.

The most interesting section of Mayer's book is the comparison of the Bolshevists' Six Points put out at Brest-Litovsk on December 22, 1917, Lloyd George's speech to the Trade Union Congress on January 5, 1918, and Wilson's address to Congress on January 8. The first was intended, despite its moderate language, as the manifesto of the expected world revolution. This forced Lloyd George into a statement of British policy, for he needed a half million more men for the army, and these could come only from the workers. Labor refused to go on fighting

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unless the government made concessions about its plans for the map of Europe; but Lloyd George washed his hands of Russia (its future was up to the Russian people) and said nothing about open diplomacy, freedom of trade, freedom of the seas, or a League of Nations. It was left to Wilson to add these points (his territorial program was close to that announced by Lloyd George, although there had been no consultation), nor did Wilson abandon Russia, to which he made a generous reference. Mayer notes that the Lloyd George speech was soon forgotten and that Wilson's program, which included a good deal more than the Fourteen Points, was accepted by liberal circles everywhere as the definitive expression of Allied war aims. This appeal was addressed to bourgeois and nationalist circles in both warring camps, not to socialists. It carried the day, whereas the socialist appeal of the Bolshevists fell flat except in Germany, where it undoubtedly contributed to the collapse of October–November 1918.

Alexandria, Virginia BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT

GERMANY AND JAPAN: A STUDY IN TOTALITARIAN DIPLOMACY, 1933–1941. By *Ernst L. Presseisen*. [International Scholars Forum, Volume XII.] (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1958. Pp. x, 368. 28.50 Glds.)

BASED chiefly on captured German and Japanese documents, this work is a careful study of German-Japanese relations from Hitler's accession to Pearl Harbor. Each development from the slow initial rapprochement of the two powers to their final drifting apart in 1941 is given detailed attention. No new story emerges, but rather a confirmation of the earlier picture, drawn by Iklé, Jones, and others, of Germany and Japan as faithless allies who exploited each other whenever possible and betrayed each other when necessary.

Dr. Presseisen does, however, have some interesting contributions to make. For example, he shows how Nazi racial doctrines proved no serious obstacle to a German alliance with Japan, mainly because Hitler refused to let doctrine interfere with the acquisition of a useful ally in the Far East. Commercial ties, the author demonstrates, were of little importance in drawing Japan and Germany together; the Japanese and German economies tended to compete with rather than to complement each other. Japan's shock at both the Nazi-Soviet pact and the German attack on Russia, we are informed, resulted as much from Japanese obtuseness as from German treachery. In each case, Japan received ample signs of what was coming, but ignored them.

Some of the viewpoints expressed are doubtful. Many readers may not, as the author does, see any astonishing correspondence between the three stages of German policy in 1938–1939 and the three basic premises of Karl Haushofer's geopolitics. Nor will most readers share the author's surprise that Soviet Russia should have officially protested against Italy's joining the Anti-Comintern Pact, since the Russians always, with good reason, insisted that the pact was not anti-Comintern but anti-Russian. The argument that Japan really stood to gain as much as Ger-

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many from the Tripartite Pact is not very convincing. Finally, one need not, like the author, conclude frim the stepped-up tempo of the last-minute Japanese-American negotiations that Foreign Minister Togo was "much more hostile" toward America than his predecessor Toyoda. These are minor points, however. Generally the author's conclusions are sound, if diffusely stated.

A more serious criticism concerns the book's style. Repeatedly the reviewer found himself reading the same sentence or paragraph two or three times, not because the material was difficult or the ideas profound, but because stylistic faults—unclear antecedents, awkward transitions, dangling modifiers, unorthodox constructions, misused words, and the like—obscured the author's meaning. Here is one example: "To start with outspoken Nazi statements of sympathy and proceeding by way of military publications expressing skepticism about her endurance in case of war, we find considerable business sentiment which is distinctly hostile toward Japan." Careful rewriting would have made this work much more clear and interesting.

Style apart, however, this is a valuable work. Presseisen's research has been very thorough and discriminating. If he makes no startling revelations (and none are to be expected), he clears up many subsidiary points and gives on the whole the best and most complete picture of relations between Nazi Germany and imperial Japan.

Fort Wayne, Indiana PAUL W. SCHROEDER

Ancient and Medieval History

GREEK CIVILIZATION: FROM THE ANTIGONE TO SOCRATES. By *André Bonnard*. Translated by *A. Lytton Sells*. (2d ed.; New York: Macmillan Company. 1959. Pp. 248. $6.00.)

THE appearance of the first volume of this work in 1957, entitled *Greek Civilization: From the Iliad to the Parthenon*, was widely acclaimed by reviewers and critics. In fact, one distinguished scholar went so far as to describe the first volume as "a brilliant piece of work—the best popular introduction to Greek civilization, I almost think, that I have ever read." The first volume was indeed a fine one so that readers have every reason to expect that the second volume, which deals primarily with the greatest age in Greek history and culture, the fifth century, should at least equal, if not surpass, the excellence of the first volume. The reader will not be disappointed.

The title of the second volume indicates clearly its chronological limits, from 442–441 to 399 B.C. It is obvious that the author is not striving for completeness but rather is seeking to illustrate certain typical characteristics of Greek civilization of the fifth century B.C. This he does pretty much in the manner that he employed in the first volume, that is, by selecting certain important aspects of that

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civilization and illustrating these by what the Greeks said and did. This makes the author introduce the reader to some of the principal figures of Greek culture and their achievements. He is careful, however, to make the Greeks speak for themselves through their works, and in this way he reveals their merits as well as limitations. His own remarks and interpretations astutely draw the fascination of the reader into a world which, though on appearances foreign to him, in actuality becomes alive and relevant to his own experience.

Professor Bonnard of the University of Lausanne has been described as one of Europe's leading Hellenists. Professor Lytton Sells of Indiana University, by translating Bonnard's work, has now made it possible for Bonnard's masterful and honest interpretation of Greek civilization to become available to an even wider audience of English-speaking peoples, who are daily exhibiting an ever-increasing interest in the Greeks. This volume, with the first volume, will provide the general reader with one of the finest introductions to Greek civilization available today.

Greek Civilization is not a history book in the traditional sense of the word. It is a sensitive introduction to some of the glories of the Greeks' greatest period. One could justly call this an introduction to Greek intellectual history of the fifth century.

In the first of the current volume's ten chapters Bonnard begins with an analysis of the promise of the *Antigone* of Sophocles, proceeds to a very sensitive discussion of marble and bronze in Greek art, reveals the birth of science in the figures of Thales and Democritus, returns to Sophocles and discusses brilliantly his *Oedipus Rex* and *Oedipus at Colonus,* describes the achievement of Pindar, the prince of poets and poet of princes, introduces the reader to the charming *Historiai* of Herodotus ("a queer mixture of scientific probity and credulity" which demonstrates in beautiful terms these early attempts at history and geography), discusses brilliantly the position of medical science in the fifth century, portrays the satirical and lighter side of the Greeks through Aristophanes, indicates the story behind the decline of Greece, and finally posits the enigma of Socrates in his quest for knowledge. Thirty-two vivid photogravure plates embellish the book and illustrate beautifully and relevantly much of the text. Besides the index, there is a brief bibliography at the end of the book which particularly ignores such important recent works on Sophocles as those by C. H. Whitman, Bernard Knox, H. D. F. Kitto, S. M. Adams, and G. M. Kirkwood.

The dates given for the *Oedipus Rex* (420 B.C.) and the *Electra* (416–415 B.C.) are far from being as positive as one would be led to believe by reading Bonnard's comments. The old English translations of Greek works used by the translator to replace the original French translations of the Greek used by the author are unfortunate in view of the many excellent recent translations that are now available.

But all these observations are minor compared to the immense contribution that this book makes to an understanding of Greek civilization and history. *Greek Civilization: From the Antigone to Socrates* is sensitive in thought—

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relevantly, beautifully, and brilliantly expressed. The two volumes by Bonnard now become the finest popular introductions to Greek civilization available.

Colgate University JOHN E. REXINE

THE COUNCIL OF FLORENCE. By *Joseph Gill, S.J.* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1959. Pp. xviii, 452. $8.50.)

PROFESSOR Gill makes his premises explicit in his conclusions: The Council of Florence "outweighed the Council of Basel, and in so doing checked the development of the Conciliar Movement that threatened to change the very constitution of the Church. The great achievement of the Council for the West was that it secured the victory for the popes in the struggle of papacy versus council, and the survival of the traditional order of the Church." The main part of his story, however, is on the Council of Florence, seen by him as an expression of a genuine desire for union on the part of both Greeks and Latins, even if for different reasons; his main premise and conclusion is that "union was what Byzantium most needed and Rome most desired." Hence, as far as the union is concerned, Gill draws an image of unremitting and concerted efforts by the Latins, against all odds (including Basel) through all the theological and procedural debates, to achieve the union of the Christian Church; and of the Greeks, disunited, strong in their fanaticism, weak in theological debates, agreeing with the Latins through reason, rejecting union through emotion. The image is a consistent one, and the first conclusion reinforces the second, emphasizing the traditional catholic and orthodox position of the Roman Church at Florence.

Yet this outlook imposes certain restrictions upon the scope of the study. What is omitted, in effect, is the political sphere. Gill describes in some detail the history of uniate attempts, beginning with 1204. When he sees the Fourth Crusade as an opportunity for union, however, he underestimates the depth of hatred on the part of the Greeks toward the Latins as seriously as did the Latin fathers at Florence. Hence, when describing in great detail the maze of political and ideological factors confronting Emperor John VIII upon his return to Constantinople after the union, Gill neglects the primary context of passionate and bitter Greek nationalism. What Byzantium most needed and desired was help rather than union; and the apocryphal phrase of Luke Notaras, "Better the Sultan's turban than the Pope's mitre" had some historical truth to it.

Following his view of the traditional nature and position of the Roman Church, Gill also neglects the context in which all the various groups saw the problem of union. The Council of Basel was in agreement with the antiunionist mob of Constantinople and with the ignorant monks of Moscow, that the main issue was that of papal supremacy; an issue if not of politics, at least of political theology. And the doctrine of papal supremacy, product of the revolutionary papacy of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, could not appear traditional to the

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Greeks who broke with Rome before Gregory VII, and for whom papal power coincided with the rape of 1204. That even theological questions such as the *filioque* clause were seen in this context is at least suggested by the hard fight Rome put up for the famous clause at Florence, despite Rome's own discomfort when forced to adopt it in the ninth century. There can be little argument about the skill and learning of the Latin theologians at Florence. That the issue was one of hierarchic supremacy for the Roman Church at large, however, can be seen from the policy in the East during the succeeding centuries; the aim was to convert the Orthodox rather than unite with them.

Gill's book is the fruition of the work done by him and his colleagues at the Pontifical Oriental Institute on the sources for the Council of Florence. It is, certainly, the most complete account available. Beautifully written, carrying the interwoven strands of the tale over hundreds of pages, clear in exposition and position, this work fulfills the demand to be made of a good book of history: to stimulate, provoke, and challenge the reader.

Wesleyan University MICHAEL CHERNIAVSKY

TRANSLATIO IMPERII: EIN BEITRAG ZUR GESCHICHTE DES GESCHICHTSDENKENS UND DER POLITISCHEN THEORIEN IM MITTELALTER UND IN DER FRÜHEN NEUZEIT. By *Werner Goez*. (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). 1958. Pp. vii, 400. Cloth DM 43, paper DM 38.50.)

THIS is a thorough and careful study of the concept of "translation of empire" from its beginning in pagan historiography to its ending in the religious polemics of the seventeenth century. The idea that there was always one people preeminent in power and that this preeminence passed from people to people according to the decree of God or the will of man captured the imagination of scholars of many different cultures. It should have ended with the establishment of the system of individual sovereign states, but perhaps we still betray its influence in our discussions of the passing of European hegemony from one state to another.

During the Middle Ages the idea was also a political force. The popes claimed that they possessed and had exercised the power of transferring empires and kingdoms, that they had taken the Frankish crown from the Merovingians and the imperial title from the Greeks. They used this claim to support their interventions in secular politics and especially to establish their superiority over the German emperors. The author believes that this theory of papal control over the translation of empire was first fully formulated in the twelfth century and that it was most influential during the pontificates of Alexander III and Innocent III. On the other hand, he doubts that it was important in the thinking of Gregory VII. And he is careful to point out that it was never the sole argument and probably never the chief argument used to support papal claims.

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The highest praise must be given to the author's industry and intellectual honesty. By patient search through the sources he has discovered almost all the possible mentions of the phrase. This work will not have to be done again; we now possess a definitive study of the concept. At the same time, the author never claims too much; he does not assert that a writer is using the translation theory unless he finds the words "translatio imperii" or their exact equivalent. This rigorous attitude was doubtless necessary in order to keep the length of the book within reasonable limits, but it makes some distinctions sharper in appearance than they were in fact. All sorts of gradations are possible between the general assertion of the pope's authority as Vicar of Christ and the specific claim that he can translate empires and kingdoms. Thus while it is probably true that Gregory VII did not clearly formulate the translation theory, the idea was already taking shape in his time and must have had some influence on his claims to power over secular rulers.

The book has one other great value; it is an excellent study in historiography. In discussing the attitude taken by different writers toward the translation theory, the author tells us much about their methods and habits of thought. This is especially true in his treatment of the historians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—for example, in his brilliant study of Melanchthon. The translation theory had ceased to be a political weapon; it was to end its career as a test case in the battle between old and new tendencies in historical writing.

Princeton University J. R. Strayer

EMPEROR MICHAEL PALEOLOGUS AND THE WEST, 1258–1282: A STUDY IN BYZANTINE-LATIN RELATIONS. By *Deno John Geanakoplos*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1959. Pp. xii, 434. $7.50.)

This is an important contribution to the elucidation of the relations between the Latin West and the Greek East in the thirteenth century. Michael Palaeologus, the Byzantine emperor (1258–1282) is the focus, and, one might say, the hero of the narrative.

The book opens in a detailed way with the rise to power of Michael and ends with the Sicilian Vespers, an event for which Michael was to some extent responsible and which marked his final triumph over his archenemy Charles of Anjou. In between there are chapters describing the various phases of Michael's relations with the Latins and some references to other aspects of his reign. But the core of the book consists of those chapters that delve into the ambition of Charles of Anjou to become master of Constantinople and the countermeasures taken by Michael Palaeologus to stop him. Among these measures the union of the churches, affected finally at Lyons in 1274, figured very prominently, and to this Geanakoplos devotes considerable space. Michael's efforts to appease the

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papacy by subordinating the Greek church to papal jurisdiction only served to divide the Greek people and, in the end, to sharpen still more the antagonism between Greeks and Latins. One leaves Geanakoplos' book with the distinct impression, in my opinion historically accurate, that the hostility of the Latin West and the uncompromising attitude of the papacy on the question of the union of the churches was one of the principal factors in the subsequent decline of the Byzantine Empire and the final triumph of the Turks.

Geanakoplos' work was originally composed as a doctoral dissertation, and parts of it were published in various learned journals. The work as it now appears has been reviewed and revised and account has been taken of suggestions made by other scholars, as for instance, that of D. Nicol concerning the date of the Battle of Pelagonia. It is a solid, scholarly, and readable achievement based upon the sources, whose data—especially wherever there is a question as to their meaning—are carefully analyzed. There are instances, however, where the analysis is carried to an extreme for no good reason. This, for example, seems to be the case with the author's long dissertation on the Venetian expedition to Daphnusia, where he suggests that Michael may have tricked the Venetians into undertaking that expedition. He analyzes all the sources with that in view, only to come to the conclusion that the suggestion is not tenable. Some of his interpretations may also be questioned. I am reluctant, for instance, to accept his explanation of the reason why Michael extended to the Genoese such liberal terms in the Treaty of Nymphaeum. In his dealings with others in matters of state Michael was no doubt Machiavellian, but there is a tendency on the part of the author to exaggerate this Machiavellianism. But let there be no mistake. Geanakoplos has written a good book which for long will find a place in any select bibliography concerning the history of Europe in the thirteenth century. The point should be stressed, however, that his book covers only one aspect of Michael's reign. The complete and thorough study of that reign still remains to be written.

Rutgers University PETER CHARANIS

THE SICILIAN VESPERS: A HISTORY OF THE MEDITERRANEAN WORLD IN THE LATER THIRTEENTH CENTURY. By *Steven Runciman.* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1958. Pp. xiii, 355. $5.50.)

THE revolt known as the Sicilian Vespers has long been considered the culmination of tangled diplomatic intrigue that challenges the greatest critical and narrative skill of a historian. Mr. Runciman's narrative power is again admirably proved. He picks up the threads of the struggle for power after the death of Frederick II in 1250 and weaves a clear and forceful pattern with Manfred and Charles of Anjou as central figures, accompanied by some masterful sketches of the popes. The delineation of Charles of Anjou is particularly clear; Runciman is at his best in depicting and explaining the goals and frustrations of this ambitious prince, who wished to conquer the Byzantine Empire and dominate the Mediterranean.

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Runciman is no less skillful in his description of battle scenes. His reconstructions are most convincing, all the more so because he took the trouble to visit the sites of the battles and to test the contemporary accounts for possibilities of distortion. Here his critical and dramatic powers are happily combined to give forceful and sometimes moving accounts of the interplay of conflict and personalities.

Yet the author's critical powers do not seem quite adequate for the evaluation of a conspiracy that took advantage of a riot and turned it into a European conflict which proved to be a crisis for the papacy as well as for Charles of Anjou. In spite of a more detailed discussion in an appendix, the confusion in regard to the role of John of Procido as a conspirator, long controversial, remains without any clarifying insights. Runciman does indeed point out that Michael Palaeologus, the Byzantine Emperor who had most to gain by ruining the exalted plans of Charles to attack Constantinople, claimed to have been the divine tool that brought about the Sicilian revolt. Runciman, although he allows the Emperor a part in the debacle of Charles of Anjou, still lends considerable weight to the legend of John of Procida, mostly on the basis of convincing details in regard to ships in which John's agent or agents were supposed to have sailed. Runciman considers these details too precise to be entirely fictitious, yet he fails to give proof of why he considers them precise.

Runciman intersperses his account with sage advice to Charles of Anjou, Manfred, and an impressive array of popes. Unfortunately, how sage the advice may be cannot be determined without running four decades of the thirteenth century through their paces according to the commands of Runciman. It may be that Charles of Anjou, Manfred, and the popes made their decisions with many considerations in mind, to say nothing of their emotions, of which we cannot be aware from the remaining sources.

Runciman is not too consistent in his judgment of the popes. While repeatedly deploring their involvement in the ambitions of Charles of Anjou, he declares in Chapter 1 that they should not be judged too severely, since it was "the spirit of the times" for political organizations to collapse, including the Chinese Sung Empire. Runciman's belief in political predestination according to some mysterious spirit pervading all human endeavor in the late thirteenth century, even that of the distant Chinese, does not carry much conviction. England under Edward I, just to cite one example to the contrary, does not appear to have been collapsing.

University of Michigan PALMER A. THROOP

L'AVÈNEMENT D'ISABELLE LA CATHOLIQUE. By *Orestes Ferrara*. Translated from the Spanish by *Francis de Miomandre*. (Paris: Éditions Albin Michel. 1958. Pp. 473. 1,200 fr.)

To recent revelations of how deftly Tudor dynastic propaganda blackened for centuries the memory of Richard III of England, this intensely interesting vol-

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ume offers a dramatic Spanish counterpart. Its thesis is that Isabel *la Católica*'s seizure of the Castilian throne in 1497 was illegal, and that this usurpation was justified by fraudulent charges of impotence against King Henry IV and of illegitimacy against his undoubted daughter and lawful successor, the Infanta Joanna. So successfully were these false charges supported by shameless interpolation or destruction of official records and by the unprincipled distortions of such official chroniclers of the Catholic kings as Pulgar and Palencia, that to this day virtually all historians refer to Joanna as *la Beltraneja,* the smear sobriquet invented by the Isabelinos to discredit her as the offspring of Henry's adulterous queen and the nobleman Beltrán de la Cueva. Ferrara, analyzing with skill the chronicles and other documentation, concludes that the evidence on the King's two marriages—not to say his extramarital affairs—proves him quite normal sexually; and he shows further that contemporary opinion, ranging from the Castilian people to Louis XI of France and Afonso V of Portugal, regarded Joanna as legitimate. Examining then the circumstances under which Henry came to be discredited and his daughter robbed of the throne, Ferrara finds these to be, first, the ceaseless shifting conspiracies among the great Castilian nobles and churchmen hostile to the growth of royal centralizing power; and, secondly, the shrewdly effective support given aristocratic intrigue in Castile by John II of Aragon, who was out to block the threatened Castilian-Portuguese in favor of a Castilian-Aragonese political alignment. A third circumstance was the use by both these forces against Henry, as rallying points of revolution and allegedly legitimate succession claims, the King's half-brother Alfonso, and following his death, the King's half-sister, the able and unscrupulous Isabel. The involved story of Henry IV's defeat by the Isabelinos at Olmedo, his forced recognition of Isabel as his heir in the humiliating Pact of Toros de Guisando, and other topics are traced here in detail, with much fresh and original comment. Ferrara's demonstration of Joanna's legitimacy and Isabel's usurpation is thoroughly convincing, just as his contrast of the moderate, honorable, but generally ineffectual Henry IV and his daughter with the energetic, capable, and resolute Isabel and her ruthless supporters explains the way things worked out. The book's chief weakness, I think, is its failure to criticize Henry sufficiently for betraying Joanna in recognizing the succession rights of Alfonso and later of Isabel. This book has won high praise in Spain after overcoming initial difficulties of censorship and partisan criticism; and it is to be hoped this French translation will soon be followed by an English one.

University of Virginia C. J. Bishko

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Modern European History

THE HIGH COURT OF CHIVALRY: A STUDY OF THE CIVIL LAW IN ENGLAND. By *G. D. Squibb*. With a foreword by *A. R. Wagner*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1959. Pp. xxvi, 301. $6.75.)

PROMPTED by A. R. Wagner, the learned Richmond Herald and friend of historians, the Chapter of the College of Arms gave G. D. Squibb, Q. C., "unrestricted access to the records" of the Court of Chivalry. The result is, quite literally, an original and unique treatise—the only comprehensive history of the Court from 1348 to 1955. Its originality rests on the evidence, "records" in the legal sense, never before used and then upon the place in English history which Squibb gives to both the Court and the civil law. The Court's "erratic and eccentric existence" is traced from its medieval origin past three major eclipses (1485–1622, 1640–1687, 1732–1954) and through three restorations. The first problem was to identify the Court itself, for it was called the Court of the Constable and the Marshal, the Court Military, the Court of Honour, the Earl Marshal's Court, and the Court of Chivalry. Then there was a comparable confusion over jurisdiction which Squibb had to clarify.

The law applied in this Court was an "amalgam of English custom and civil-law procedure" in some respects like ecclesiastical and admiralty law. But "only the procedure of the Court of Chivalry . . . was governed by the civil law," for the common lawyers in 1459 had recognized that "the substantive law was . . . English." A notary in 1408 had called it "the law of arms as used in England," and this designation may explain its confusion with later military law. As medieval military government gave way to civil, the matters brought before the Court changed, too, from deeds of arms to armorial bearings and from prisoners and ransom to the rights of esquires and gentlemen to be so styled. Then came suits over false arms and forged pedigrees, the heralds' right to serve (for a fee) at funerals, and over "scandalous words" or words "provocative of a duel." Rank and status, Squibb shows, were still in the 1600's matters of strict law and not just a vague recognition by one's inferiors. The snobbish and cruel contempt toward yeomen, in contrast to their heroics in romance, is enough to explain why so many of our ancestors fled in the 1630's from Old to New England. For during the decade before the Long Parliament resolved in 1641 that the Court was "arbitrary and illegal" and "a grievance," its officers perverted it, like the Star Chamber, into a racket to gain financial and absolutist ends. Between 1634 and 1640, the years from which most of the "records" come, 606 causes were begun; and the exhorbitant fines, fees, and damages extracted from the litigants (were not some plaintiffs professional informers?) exhibit yet another Stuart abuse, one to be briefly echoed in 1687 by James II.

During the Court's "dormant years" (1737–1954), Parliament encroached upon its jurisdiction by authorizing the armorial bearings of municipal corpora-

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tions. But in 1954 the Earl Marshal once again convened the High Court of Chivalry to hear and determine a dispute between the Manchester Corporation and the Manchester Palace of Varieties, Ltd. Perhaps a product of this revival, Squibb's book with its distinguished chapters on "The Law of Arms" and "The Procedure of the Court" will not be superseded substantively until more "records," presumably not at the College of Arms, turn up. Besides the treatise based on over four hundred cited cases, it contains fifty-three pages of appendixes, mostly documents, and an eleven-page bibliography of titles hard to find. Though many questions remain imperfectly answered for want of evidence, historians and lawyers will find much that is very new about law, society, and heraldry to work with and on.

Yale University WILLIAM HUSE DUNHAM, JR.

THE KING'S WAR, 1641–1647. By *C. V. Wedgwood.* [The Great Rebellion.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1959. Pp. 702. $7.50.)

FOR those who have read Miss Wedgwood's *The King's Peace,* the appearance of her second volume on the Great Rebellion is an exciting event. Her earlier historical and biographical works now seem a prolonged and intensive preparation for both foreign and domestic aspects of her magnum opus. Since Gardiner first published his second volume on the Civil War phase of his monumental work (taking it to 1647) seventy years ago, there has been an accumulation of historical investigations that amply warranted a new synthesis on a larger scale than the standard works of Trevelyan and Davies. In *The King's War* Miss Wedgwood has given us another installment in what will undoubtedly be the twentieth-century classic on the mid-seventeenth-century revolution.

Because Miss Wedgwood has brilliantly executed what she says in her introduction she has set out to do, there is, as was true in *The King's Peace,* no better statement than her own of the kind of history she has written. Although there are excellent passages of historical analysis, such as the one revealing the various factors inducing support for one side or the other, she has in the main written historical narrative. By adhering as closely to chronological sequence as the interests of clarity permit, and by seeing events through the various illusions and rationalizations of men in the seventeenth century, she restores "their immediacy of experience." By deciding to make the King rather than Parliament the center of her attention, she has heightened the reader's awareness of the hopes, the surprises, the uncertainties, the tensions, the exultations, and the agonies of the main participants in the Civil War.

For Miss Wedgwood "a cynical view of human frailty is no help to the historian." She conceives it her business to understand rather than to moralize, but at the same time she candidly exercises her discriminating judgment of men. Thus besides political, religious, economic, or expedient motivations, she identifies the

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operation of many other human traits, such as pettiness, vanity, revengefulness, and treachery, as well as honesty, generosity, loyalty, and courage. Because her treatment of personalities is at once sympathetic and critical, her occasional severity, or irony, or contempt is all the more devastating.

At least two more areas of Miss Wedgwood's professional competence are particularly manifest—her intimate knowledge of all aspects of her subject and her capacity for imaginative reconstruction of events. Despite the wealth of source materials, what the leading actors planned and what was fortuitous have not always been distinguishable. Her mastery of her material has made possible both discriminating reliance on other scholars and lucidity in the exposition of the most intractable incidents of the English Civil War. Two examples of what Miss Wedgwood has accomplished must suffice. Her interpretation of Pym's leadership before the outbreak of civil war is bold and almost always convincing. As for the Irish rebellion, she finds her way expertly through its intricate relationships with the internal struggle in England.

Miss Wedgwood has been criticized for writing history without a thesis. To be sure, she quietly ignores the theories of Tawney and Trevor-Roper and she is obviously no determinist. She has, nonetheless, an implicit pluralistic philosophy of history in which chance and human will as well as religious, political, economic, and other factors operate in shifting proportions.

By taking a familiar story, by penetrating its complexities, by following the mazes of human motivations, by the magic of her unpretentious style, Miss Wedgwood has created in *The King's War* a history to challenge those prejudices that obstinately and covertly persist despite determined efforts at detachment. She has written a superb book.

University of Rochester WILLSON H. COATES

THE AGE OF IMPROVEMENT. By *Asa Briggs*. [A History of England.] (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1959. Pp. xii, 547. $7.00.)

THIS volume, the second to be published in the Longmans-Medlicott *History of England,* fulfills the expectations of those who have looked forward to its appearance and provides a notable addition to the literature of modern English (rather than British) history. *The Age of Improvement*—the title, something of an inspiration on the part of the author, makes its point on two or three levels—covers the decades from the close of the American war in 1783 to the "leap in the Dark" of 1867. Although Professor Briggs has avoided the conventional starting points and finish lines such as 1760, 1815, 1832, 1901, and 1914, and although, he concedes, the book "cuts into what are usually thought of as two contrasting centuries—the age of balance and the age of progress," these eighty-four years stand not only as a credible but a historically significant segment of English history.

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To analyze the changes in society and institutions, in habits of thought and emotional attitudes, during the period marked by the ascent and ascendancy of the industrial middle classes is, of course, a formidable order. Briggs does not look for the easy way out but takes as his assignment the totality of English internal development, with all its confusion and contradictions. (Foreign affairs get relatively little attention and imperial questions even less.) The themes running through his volume are, as he notes, substantially those which, in the view of the Victorians themselves, gave to their age its distinctive character—the increasing mastery over nature as reflected in the use of machinery and power, the relaxation of oligarchical control of government, an altered class alignment, an improved code of morals and manners up and down the social scale, and a new and commanding international position. He holds a fair balance between narrative and analysis, and the two are never allowed to get far apart but are constantly adding content and meaning to each other. This is, in short, an admirably conceived, rigorously thought-out study, which, although it makes some demands on the reader's concentration and occasionally confronts him with an overly knotty paragraph, will be indispensable to all who profess an interest in the Victorian age.

Among the more conspicuous merits of *The Age of Improvement* one is struck by the extraordinary range of information upon which the author has drawn. Not only is Briggs thoroughly familiar with older and more recent writing in the field, but he shows a prodigious acquaintance with contemporary materials, from official documents, statistical sources, memoirs, periodicals, and newspapers, to Victorian *ephemera* and *curiosa* of various sorts, sometimes even tapping manuscript records, as in his treatment of the Reform League of 1865–1867. As a result, he never seems to want for the apt quotation or the revealing phrase, and the whole text is refreshingly free from the familiar clichés of Victorian history.

Briggs is too much the master of his field to align himself with the current Victorian revivalists, still less to echo the fashionable sneers of the 1920's. He is aware of how impossible it is to generalize about a period as long and dynamic as was the Victorian age. In some respects the Englishman of 1840 and the Englishman of 1900, both technically Victorians, seem centuries rather than decades removed from each other. Nor does he accept as a realistic measure of their achievement the ideals of work, seriousness, respectability, and the rest, which the mid-Victorians so vigorously proclaimed (sometimes, it has been suspected, whistling to keep up their courage). The civilization fashioned by the Victorians was, in fact, neither idyllic nor a vulgar sham. Even G. M. Young, with all his admiration for the Victorians, has admitted, Briggs recalls, that if you were to fall asleep and wake up in 1860, "your impression of Victorian England will depend on where you wake up."

Harvard University DAVID OWEN

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WALTER BAGEHOT: A STUDY OF HIS LIFE AND THOUGHT TOGETHER WITH A SELECTION FROM HIS POLITICAL WRITINGS. By *Norman St. John-Stevas*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1959. Pp. xvi, 485. $7.50.)

G. M. YOUNG, who has the right to speak, has called Walter Bagehot the greatest Victorian. This opinion, which I share, is not general, and I have often wondered why it is not. One reason is surely Bagehot's versatility, which divides attention and deprives his distinct contributions of sheer bulk. Besides, he died too young to amplify and round them out and thus also missed the reverence of possible disciples. Finally, his genius was gay, and his style sustains clarity and concreteness without effort. He seems therefore to retell what everybody knows in words that everybody could have found for himself. He does not sound earnest, profound, prophetic.

It is time all this simplicity and reason were tempered by massive scholarship. Unfortunately, there are no papers to edit or letters to unearth. Dr. St. John-Stevas, who is a thorough Bagehotist, has done the one thing possible and needful, which is to review the facts of Bagehot's intellectual life in the light of English history and to illustrate the development of Bagehot's political thought by reprinting *The English Constitution* and ten essays which together span the politics of the century.

The anthologist has chosen well. He has given us Brougham and Peel, which are two of Bagehot's masterpieces of characterization; he has taken care to sample the "Letters on the French Coup d'État," which are indispensable to the appreciation of Bagehot's genius as a political theorist; and he has culled from *Physics and Politics* the treatment of government by discussion, which is easy to overlook or forget when one reads or remembers that book, the best-known and least satisfying of Bagehot's works. The pages excerpted by our interpreter contain a number of superb formulations, among them one which defines not only the spirit of government by debate and consent but also the very character of Bagehot's mind: "animated moderation."

Of *The English Constitution* it would be fatuous to say any word of praise. Only those who have not read and pondered it think it is merely a book about the English Constitution. St. John-Stevas suggests in his long essay what one can find in Bagehot's thought if one comes to it equipped, as he is, with a rich knowledge of English politics before and after Bagehot's own time. At moments the commentator may go too far into the details of monarchy under George V to keep us aware of Bagehot's breadth and universality. But this is a generous fault and one which would disappear if, as he is planning to do, St. John-Stevas were introducing the reader to the full corpus of Bagehot's writings. The economic and literary need this same leisurely, ramified treatment before the weight of their author's mind can be felt. Meanwhile, a biography by Alastair Buchan is in prospect and the present essay and political anthology serve as a salubrious appetizer.

Columbia University JACQUES BARZUN

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THE COMMONWEALTH IN THE WORLD. By *J. D. B. Miller.* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1958. Pp. 308. $5.00.)

THIS study of the Commonwealth—it is no longer the fashion to call it the British Commonwealth—is by an Australian, now at the University of Leicester. After a good summary of the growth of the Commonwealth, Professor Miller takes up the external and internal problems of the members of this group of equal sovereign states—Britain, Canada, India, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Pakistan, Ceylon, Malaya, and the recently added states of Ghana and Nigeria. This is followed by an explanation of just what the current Commonwealth is and why it persists. All were members of the former British Empire, either as colonies of settlement or former colonies of administration. The author prefers "administration" to "exploitation." He adds, rather surprisingly, that exploitation in the sense of the former misuse of the local inhabitants in the interest of British investors "does not apply to any of the countries which are now Commonwealth members."

What holds them together? It would seem that the force of "negative agreement" is important—they are anti-Communist and against the subordination of nonwhite populations, but with exceptions. Some are much less anti-Communist than others, and South Africa, of course, is an exception to the idea of equal treatment of colored inhabitants. The Commonwealth is also bound together by the possession of common ideals, although the author admits that this may grow weaker as the former "colonies of administration" develop their own sense of values. Stress is given to the economic ties, and much is made of the sterling area centered in London. But again there are qualifications, since this bloc includes important non-Commonwealth members, such as Eire (she left in 1949) Egypt, Palestine, and various European states.

The survey concludes with an attempt to classify the Commonwealth. It is no longer a federation, nor a military alliance, nor a personal union, as it now includes republics. On the other hand, it is not a mere study group. Miller prefers to title it a "concert of convenience." He believes there is nothing to prevent members from leaving the Commonwealth; indeed, further secessions like those of Eire and Burma are not unlikely. Great Britain remains the positive force and the chief member of this group of states. The author concludes that this sort of Commonwealth will persist "so long as Britain wishes to retain a gentle, polite and moderately effective leadership of the disparate group of states which compose the existing concert of convenience."

Four of David Low's cartoons serve as rather curious illustrations. The index might be more complete. It does not include "Eire," nor a number of useful references to Eire under "Ireland." Mackenzie King is listed under "M," Lloyd George under "L," and Patrick Gordon Walker under "G." Cross references would have been useful. The volume is an interesting, penetrating, and frank survey of what remains of a once powerful empire.

Oberlin College HOWARD ROBINSON

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THE ENGLISH UTILITARIANS AND INDIA. By *Eric Stokes*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1959. Pp. xvi, 350. $7.20.)

THIS book is an important contribution to the literature concerned with the impact of British, and indeed European, political and economic thought on Indian government and society throughout the nineteenth century. Moreover, its theme is by no means confined to India. Perhaps at no time more than in the first half of the nineteenth century was India such a vast laboratory in which her British rulers could experiment as they thought best. Ideas in operation are often susceptible to sharper analysis than ideas remaining for the most part unimplemented within the pages of an author's works. Professor Stokes has clearly differentiated the chief strands within utilitarianism as applied in India, and in so doing has shown their variance from other elements, whether liberal or not, in the British political and economic thought of the period. He has thus placed all students of Bentham, the two Mills, and Ricardo, to say nothing of Macaulay and many other writers, much in his debt.

The work begins with a masterly exposition of the utilitarian doctrine and its setting. With regard to the doctrine, perhaps the chief contribution here is the discussion of the two Mills, James and John Stuart, emphasizing the position of primacy with respect to influence on India to which James is entitled. James is shown to have had a broader and more sympathetic knowledge of Indian society than was previously supposed. As for the setting, we see the utilitarian doctrine enter an India in which the legal and constitutional principles of George III's England have already joined battle with Indian ideals of personal and enlightened despotism ruling through a paternalistic bureaucracy. "The Utilitarian influence in India thus divided, one stream looking to the energizing of the Cornwallis system and to the rule of law applied aggressively by an efficient judiciary; the other seeking its fortune in the North-Western Provinces, and later in the Punjab among the heirs of Munro" and other paternalists.

Stokes then passes to an analysis of the utilitarian impact on "political economy" and the land revenue. Here the greater part of his attention is devoted to the consequences of the application to Indian public finance of the Ricardian doctrine of rent. The evidence on this subject is set forth with greater cogency than in earlier studies, and the reader is left in no doubt that the consequently high level of revenue assessment had deleterious effects. However, Stokes did not address himself to the broader aspects of the problem. Defenders of the high assessments argued not only that on Ricardo's principles they were not burdensome, but also that the government certainly needed to keep its revenue-income at that level and could get it in no other way which would not be more objectionable from the standpoint of the public welfare. It would have been interesting to have the author's views as to the validity of that position. The complexities of the subject are very great.

After assessing the utilitarian influence on law and government in a chapter

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which has the great merit of disentangling Macaulay's legal from his other work and defining the nature of its debt to Bentham, Stokes sums up the "utilitarian legacy" in ninety pages, which in this reviewer's opinion are the most significant in the book. In contact with India, and especially with paternalistic administrators in India, the authoritarian element in utilitarianism was strengthened. Analyzing the thought and career of Fitzjames Stephen (1829–1894), Stokes shows how the authoritarian strands within utilitarian thought came to justify the continuance of the British despotism in India, and how "the compound of Indian experience with the severely logical Benthamite tradition helped to turn the English educated classes from Gladstone's liberalism of the heart." These pages should be read by all who wish to understand how, in pre-Boer War days, liberalism and imperialism could be so close together. This work is therefore as much a contribution to British, and British imperial, as to Indian history.

University of Pennsylvania HOLDEN FURBER

THE OXFORD HISTORY OF INDIA. By *Vincent A. Smith.* Edited by *Percival Spear.* Part I revised by *Sir Mortimer Wheeler* and *A. L. Basham;* Part II revised by *J. B. Harrison;* Part III rewritten by *Percival Spear.* (3d ed.; New York: Oxford University Press. 1958. Pp. xiii, 898. $6.75.)

As will be seen from its subtitle, this is no ordinary reedition of a familiar work which, for more than one generation, has supplied servants of the former British government of India and hundreds of students, both British and Indian, with their knowledge of the subcontinent's history from the earliest times to the present. Enriched by the learning of four eminent authorities in their respective chronological fields, it should supersede its predecessor on the shelves of every library, small or large, which offers its readers a one-volume survey of India's past. The new bibliographies at the end of every chapter make the work indispensable to the teacher and student who may already be conversant with the main outlines of the subject.

This reviewer will confine his comments primarily to the treatment of the period with which he is most familiar, the four and a half centuries since the European intrusion into the Indian seas. Of the earlier periods, his impression is that the book would have gained by more suppression of features characteristic of student manuals such as short factual paragraphs and multiplicity of headings. For the Muslim period, more attention to cultural and economic history and less to the pre-Mughul chronicles of blood and slaughter might have been desirable. At many points it would have been more effective for the editors to have welded the revised views into the text rather than to have left Dr. Smith's work untouched and placed their views in footnotes less likely to be read. For most effective student use, a reprinting with a larger page giving an opportunity to use larger type would be welcome. Extremely fine print is a deterrent to the usefulness of the very valuable footnotes and bibliographies.

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This whole volume owes most to Dr. Spear's wise guidance, and his new account of the British period in four hundred pages is a remarkable achievement both of compression and reflective reassessment a decade after the period's close. The method of introductory summaries followed by more detailed treatment of the main divisions within the period is admirable. Though Spear will surely be acquitted of any "imperialist" bias, it is highly probable that many readers, especially Indians, would prefer an even less British orientation. Given Smith's model, it was exceedingly difficult to escape from the traditional "governor-general after governor-general" presentation of the period, heavily weighted with political and diplomatic narrative, and perhaps lacking in due attention to the seamier side of the story. Spear has gone very far to develop a new and broader approach. Greater deviation from older models would have made these chapters still more "the story of the transformation of India under the impact of western power, techniques, and ideas" which Spear had in view. Noticeable slips are minor indeed: the date of the official British declaration of war against France was March 1744, not 1742; the private "country-trading" of East India Company servants before the mid-eighteenth century was more concerned with India proper and the Arabian rather than the China seas; Bombay became the headquarters of the western presidency in 1687, not 1709; wool was not a significant part of the Company's homeward "investment," and in any case it did not come from India; the extent to which the "investment" was ever really provided from the Bengal revenue is one of the most controversial problems in Indian economic history; the editor of the *Calcutta Journal* in the early 1820's was *James* Silk Buckingham; the activities of the Danes in India were far more important and extensive than Smith realized. Because of its comprehensiveness and readability, this work will long hold a foremost place among single-volume surveys of Indian history.

University of Pennsylvania HOLDEN FURBER

NEW ZEALAND IN THE MAKING: A STUDY OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT. By *J. B. Condliffe*. (2d rev. ed.; London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd.; distrib. by Macmillan Company, New York. 1959. Pp. 316. $6.75.)

THE WELFARE STATE IN NEW ZEALAND. By *J. B. Condliffe*. (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd.; distrib. by Macmillan Company, New York. 1959. Pp. 396. $8.00.)

TOGETHER, these two volumes form a continuous and detailed economic history of New Zealand, covering the periods 1792–1935 and 1935–1957 respectively. They are a model of what the writing of modern economic history should be. The mass of statistical information is assimilated to the narrative and subordinated to it; judgments, while based on a variety of indexes, are always cautious and thus the more telling; official figures, social policies, and political panaceas are taken

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seriously before they are deflated; the author's own prognostications arise from impartially viewed factual data and not from hobbyhorses or recognizable economic apriorisms. The subject matter of these volumes will attract primarily specialists in the Australasian field; the treatment should attract a wider audience, principally those interested in the political economy of primary producing countries or of welfare states.

To say that Mr. Condliffe had two unique advantages in writing these books is not to belittle his achievement. The first is that the original edition of *New Zealand in the Making* appeared thirty years ago. The long perspective of the intervening years as well as the perspective of distance (for Condliffe has not lived in New Zealand since 1927) have enabled him to perfect what was already a good standard book, much in demand and long out of print. The author, now dividing his old book, has put eight of its chapters into the first and some of the remainder into the second of the present volumes (which is otherwise new). This process of reanimation has been eminently successful, for he carefully incorporated the results of the latest research as well as his own observations as a recent consultant to the government-owned Bank of New Zealand. He also discarded some earlier materials which appeared to him unsuitable or irrelevant (including, unfortunately, some interesting comments on New Zealand's culture). Another advantage that the author enjoyed was his subject matter. Few countries possess such excellent statistics as New Zealand and even fewer have such a long history of officially conceived and documented manipulation of the national economy. The country is small—2,250,000 inhabitants, including some 135,000 Maoris. Its remote geographical position has enabled it to attempt to insulate its economy from the fluctuations of the external market; by contrast, the coincidence of its economic development with the movements of the general level of world prices provides a ready yardstick for measuring the success or failure of that attempt.

In *New Zealand in the Making* Condliffe describes the stages of New Zealand's economic development from the early days of small farming, through the great sheep- and wool-raising period, down to the diversified wool, meat, and dairy economy of the present day. Agricultural and related activities are examined in impeccably arranged detail, and the problems of land tenure and freehold farming are illuminated by a lengthy chapter on the economic status of the original but now virtually expropriated landowners, the Maoris. There is also a closely reasoned account of the great depression of the 1880's, after which a Liberal-Labour government introduced the pioneering social welfare measures which for the past fifty years have stigmatized New Zealand as the country of state socialism. The author prefers to regard these and later measures as *étatisme* rather than socialism, as pragmatic state interference dictated by necessity and pride in new remedies for old ills.

The Welfare State in New Zealand, which in this reviewer's opinion is the better of the two books, similarly surveys the country's primary and secondary in-

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dustries, discusses the impact of a depression (that of the 1930's), and delves into the policies of the long-lived Labour government (1935–1949). Condliffe explains the Labour philosophy and aims—to insulate the national economy from external influences by export-receipt and import-expenditure controls so as to achieve, upon the basis of a stabilized national income, its major objectives. These are: stable domestic prices, social security from the cradle to the grave, income redistribution, and national development. Again, the stress is on the humanitarian, pragmatic, and nontheoretical character of the policies pursued. It is only when he examines the economic prospects of these policies that the author raises some doubts about the country's ability to afford them indefinitely. His conclusion is that full employment, social security, and short working hours are legitimate ends, but that their present cost might prevent future generations from enjoying them. Current consumption levels might have to be limited if enough capital is to be set aside for financing services and development for a rapidly expanding population. It is alarming to see as many people employed in tertiary and administrative services as in agriculture, to have 27 per cent of the population receive state pensions and bonuses in one form or another, and to perpetuate small and comparatively unprofitable secondary industries.

These and other criticisms are temperately advanced, in full awareness of the greatest difficulty currently facing any reorientation of New Zealand's economic planning: the exchange and export problems with dollar areas. This difficulty—by no means confined to New Zealand—is aggravated by the actions of various congressional lobbies and the agricultural surplus policies in the United States.

Harvard University GEORGE NADEL

THE BIRTH OF A DILEMMA: THE CONQUEST AND SETTLEMENT OF RHODESIA. By *Philip Mason*. [Issued under the auspices of the Institute of Race Relations.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1958. Pp. xi, 366. $4.80.)

THERE is one quality in this book that before everything else deserves mention. This is the deliberate effort to use anthropology and archaeology as aids in writing African history.

Mr. Mason has concentrated on the Central African Federation to the extent that the thick strands of connection with the British colonies and the Boer republics to the south seem almost to be overlooked. But the history of these events can be found elsewhere, and Mason sensibly uses his space to deal adequately with the major issues of Rhodesian history.

The third and most important part of the book deals with "Masters and Conquered." Here there is a welcome concern with law, labor, and land—in other words with the manner in which white and black grew into what we now call a multiracial society. It is a story with harsh chapters of cultural conflict, white

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selfishness, collapsing institutions, but also of a slow awakening to what Chester Bowles has called the "rising expectations" of the world's non-Western peoples.

The easiest pitfall into which a student may fall is the discovery of the black African in a spirit of compassion and liberal partisanship. That emergent African nationalism will produce some exuberant history about itself and some angry history about European rule is to be expected. Mason is liberal but balanced. He goes far to describe the manner in which the law was warped to preserve the inequality between the races. The chapter "Red Soil and Granite Sand" is an excellent statement on the expropriation by white settlement of the best land. Most valuable are the calm reflective passages in which are explained the attitudes of the generation of settlers and officials who took legal inequality, malnutrition, political rightlessness, illiteracy, and underpayment for granted, and could not see beyond the horizon to the dramatic revolution of the modern world. As the new history of Africa is written, it is essential that these facts be detailed and explained. But quite as essential is a spirit of fairness to the white man's accomplishments, his very genuine contributions to a modern age for Africa. Mason has not written a work based on much original research, but his emphasis and approach are valuable guides to students. It is also refreshing to be vigorously reminded from time to time that the Central African Federation is part of today's world. Rhodesians, like South Africans, sometimes forget this.

University of Rochester C. W. DE KIEWIET

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN HISTORY OF THE MODERN WORLD. Edited by *Allan Nevins* and *Howard M. Ehrmann*. FRANCE: A MODERN HISTORY, by *Albert Guérard*. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1959. Pp. xxiv, 563, xxvii. $8.75.)

LIKE the four initial volumes of *The University of Michigan History of the Modern World* previously reviewed (*AHR*, LXIV [Apr. 1959], 606), this scintillating survey of French history conforms to the general pattern of the series and yet remains a discrete and independent study. It is "a modern history" of France in the sense that half of its pages are reserved for the last century and a half and one-quarter for the last forty years. It is also modern in combining the best recent scholarship with the heritage of earlier historical and humanist literature of which Professor Guérard is an unexcelled master. His lucid and eloquent prose, realistic insights, witty anecdotes and quotations, and unfailingly humane spirit (familiar for half a century to American students of history and literature) enrich every page of this "biography of a nation." No other contemporary historian is better qualified to interpret France to Americans. Since he first came to the United States in his middle twenties, he has labored with infectious ardor to strengthen the ties and deepen the understanding between his native and his adopted country.

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In an introduction that reads easily but probes deeply into the nature of history in general and that of France in particular, the author lists the "five or six protagonists" of his "story." The monarchy, the Church, the cities, the writers, the feudal nobles, and the foreign foes all have a part in the unfolding drama. But the main theme is "the growth of French national feeling." The aspirations and the follies, the struggles and the sacrifices of the French people in modern times would be incomprehensible without the spirit of nationalism to give them meaning. Guérard believes, however, that today the French are beginning to transcend the limitations of national consciousness, justifying Victor Hugo's prophecy, "O France, adieu! Thou art too great to remain a nation."

Like other contributors to this new and important series, the author justifies the intention of the editors to make it "a beaconlight to all American families who wish to grasp the development of the modern world." The intelligent layman seeking a captivating book on the evolution of France from early times to the present could choose no safer guide. The essence of French history is here with the enduring realities preserved; also, it should be noted, with some persistent errors corrected. For instance, on the use of "Gallic" as a synonym for "French," Guérard points out how little the French owed to the Gauls—"neither blood nor language, neither faith nor institutions." Against the charge directed at the eighteenth-century *philosophes,* that "they deluded themselves and mankind with vague prophecies of a new heaven and a new earth," he protests that they were singularly realistic men who "fought definite abuses and urged definite reforms."

An "Epilogue: 1958 and the Dawn of the Fifth Republic" praises the statesmanship of De Gaulle while conceding that the ultimate test of it will be success or failure in Algeria. The evaluation offered on the Algerian situation underemphasizes the importance of the economic problems involved. A tendency to scant economics, science, and technology is, in fact, the only notable defect of this otherwise admirable and absorbing survey. The volume is completed by a set of valuable and entertaining chapter notes, an appendix, suggested readings critically chosen and appraised, and a twenty-seven-page index.

Ithaca, New York GEOFFREY BRUUN

HISTOIRE DE TOULOUSE. By *Philippe Wolff.* (Toulouse: Privat, Éditeur. 1958. Pp. 418.)

MR. Wolff's history tells the story of Toulouse from its origins to the present. The author has presented us with a handsome volume, written in an easy style, replete with attractive illustrations. While popularizing the history of Toulouse, Wolff has not neglected scholars, even those who specialize in local history. He has provided them with excellent and hitherto unpublished maps. He has also closed each chapter with an annotated bibliography in which he discusses the most significant monographs that have appeared since the last general history of Toulouse, the two-volume study published by Henry Ramet in 1935.

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It is instructive to compare Ramet's older history with that of Wolff. Ramet was primarily interested in political and legal institutions. The institution and not the man in history was what intrigued him, and he wrote about his chosen subject with the majestic impartiality—or at least calmness—of a judge. Moreover, the good magistrate—for such was Ramet's office—made no concessions, stylistic or other, to attract an audience. The product of a later and more socially democratic age, Wolff is the reverse of all this. He looks at man, at the "actuality" of his social and economic condition. For him, institutions are merely the transient reflections of man's acts and choices, conditioned by his social circumstance. Wolff's style is never ponderous nor even measured. It is usually warm and is occasionally enlivened by evocative color.

In general, then, Wolff's principal contribution is his neat summary of recent monographic research on all aspects of Toulousan history, research to which he has himself contributed greatly. I have nothing but praise for his treatment of antiquity, the Middle Ages, the Revolution, and the nineteenth century. Only two chapters seem somewhat weak to me. One of them is on the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and is entitled "Deux siècles d'atonie." In certain terms, our author is doubtless right enough, but we are surprised when he tells us that the eighteenth century witnessed a remarkable demographic rise. Moreover, it is curious to note that this chapter on the age when nothing happened is one of the longest in the volume. The other weak chapter is that devoted to World War II. While I think I understand the difficulties of writing for a popular audience on recent and troubled events, I believe that Wolff himself writes a more sensitive and analytical prose than that of the Resistance novel which he quotes at such length.

Columbia University JOHN H. MUNDY

VOLTAIRE'S POLITICS: THE POET AS REALIST. By *Peter Gay*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1959. Pp. xii, 417. $6.00.)

So much uninformed nonsense has been written about the political ideas of the *philosophes,* that a scholarly and sensible work such as Mr. Peter Gay gives us in *Voltaire's Politics* is profoundly to be welcomed. Its first merit is that Gay, appreciating that practically everything Voltaire wrote on politics was directed to some practical circumstance, consistently refuses to discuss any of his political views apart from their historical setting. His prime object is to destroy the picture of Voltaire as the advocate of despotism. He has done this once and for all, and his views will doubtless penetrate into general histories in some thirty years' time. The myth was only plausible because of the misunderstanding of French eighteenth-century history, involved in the supposition that the parlements and aristocracy were fighting for liberty, whereas they were merely fighting against reforms. Thus Voltaire's *La voix du sage* (1750) and *Pensées sur le gouvernement*

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(1752), which strongly upheld royal authority, were, Gay points out, contributions to the political struggle that arose out of Machault's attempt to reform the system of taxation. If in other respects also Church and law chose to be identified with abuses that revolted the enlightened conscience, Voltaire is hardly to be criticized for taking the side of the royal administration against them.

Gay's scholarship is impressive and he concludes with a most learned and useful bibliographical essay. I wish, however, that much of the extensive supplementary matter in the notes had either been integrated in the text or omitted. I cannot help observing, also, that Lytton Strachey would have been flattered to find what I take to be an obvious though clever pastiche cited at length as though it were a genuine work of Voltaire.

Late in life, in contact with the political struggles of Geneva, Voltaire's political horizon notably expanded. On the limitations revealed in his dealings with the court of France, Frederick II, and above all Catherine of Russia, Gay is quite frank. Perhaps he does not sufficiently emphasize the reason for these limitations. Montesquieu, Diderot, D'Holbach, Rousseau, to name only a few, did not allow themselves to be deceived by despotism, because, unlike Voltaire, they did not fail "to penetrate to general principles of politics." But Gay recognizes this weakness in Voltaire: he does not claim more for him than the facts allow. His concern has been to put the record straight, and this he does with eminent success.

University College, London A. Cobban

THE NATIONALIST REVIVAL IN FRANCE, 1905–1914. By *Eugen Weber*. [University of California Publications in History, Volume LX.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1959. Pp. viii, 237. $5.00.)

Mr. Weber undertakes to show that the revived nationalism in France on the eve of World War I was a new nationalism that replaced the old nationalism in the period covered. In order to achieve this purpose, he argues that the old nationalism was almost completely discredited politically by the victorious Dreyfusards and that it was gradually replaced by the new nationalism which was not anti-Semitic, not Royalist, and not *revanchard* in the earlier sense. Its leaders—Delcassé, Poincaré, and Millerand—did not call themselves nationalists and they did not even take the trouble to develop a specific theory or doctrine of nationalism. What they generated was a new spirit or atmosphere aided by German pressure and fear internally of the Socialists. Weber is quick to admit that these leaders were influenced by some of the precepts and some of the spirit of the old nationalists, but he insists that they rehabilitated nationalism by making it constitutionally respectable.

The purpose of the study is to show why most French political parties came around to supporting military preparedness and Poincaré's strong defensive stand against German threats in the more restricted period from 1911 to 1914. Weber's

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documentation of the changed attitude on the part of the leaders in French public life after the post-Agadir Treaty of November 4, 1911, is especially impressive. The same may be said of his use of all of the pertinent literature on the subject and of the manner in which the story is presented.

The reasons he adduces for the political success of "Poincarism" include the series of international crises, the victories of French-trained troops over German-trained troops in the Balkan Wars, the consequent expansion of the German army, the French Three-Year Law, expanding industrialization in France and the growing power of the socialists, fear of these by the propertied classes, and the tendency of the moderate Republicans and the Rightists to unite for defense internally and externally.

Aside from the fact that some readers might desire a detailed analysis of the speeches, articles, and letters of the leaders of the new nationalism to bring into sharper focus the difference between the old nationalism and the new, this study leaves little to be desired in terms of its purpose. It is an important contribution to the literature on French nationalism. Every student of recent French history and institutions should find reading it a very rewarding experience.

Hendrix College W. C. Buthman

THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY REVOLUTION IN SPAIN. By *Richard Herr*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1958. Pp. xii, 484. $7.50.)

This thoughtful and interesting study elaborates in detail upon two related sets of developments. The first, briefly stated, is that from the seeds of the Enlightenment, sown by the first Bourbon rulers of Spain, flowered the decade of the 1780's, a period in Spanish history unparalleled for intellectual ferment, economic vitality, social welfare, and wise, benevolent government. The fulfillment was the work, on the one hand, of the ruler Charles III, beloved and admired by his subjects, and his able ministers and administrators; and, on the other, of the fervent religious faith of the people, which the Enlightenment could not erode. The Enlightenment did not shatter the unity of Spain; it merged with and was assimilated by native forces and values. While in France in the decade after 1776 "the magic tie of confidence around enlightened despotism" was broken, superseded in the thinking of the new generation of *philosophes* by the "myth" of America, in Spain the divisive forces were held in balance.

The second series of changes concerns the latent discords and dissatisfactions that Charles III held in check, but which neither Charles IV nor Floridablanca after Charles III's death, nor Godoy after Floridablanca from 1792 on, could control. Godoy, for whom Dr. Herr has many kinder words of appreciation than are customarily bestowed upon the Prince of the Peace, endeavored to steer his course by a generally enlightened policy, but by then the conflict had broken into the open. Under the impact of the French Revolution, challenges from abroad

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interacted with dissension at home no longer to be held in leash. The "two Spains" of the progessive-anticlericals and the Catholic-conservatives came into being. This, says the author, was the real revolution of the late eighteenth century, the product not of the reign of Charles III and the Enlightenment, but "primarily of the conflict of ideas and nations brought on by the French Revolution."

This thesis, or the latter part of it, reflects the influence upon Herr's thinking of the work of Palmer, Godechot, and above all of Gottschalk, under whose guidance the study was written and to whom it is dedicated. It is developed with solid learning, clarity, and discrimination. The author has drawn upon hitherto unused manuscript material on the Inquisition as well as on French propaganda. He has utilized the rich primary material of press and pamphlets as well as the standard classical histories and many recent monographs, all duly noted and commented upon in his "Bibliographical Note." While he has treated the subject in depth and skillfully related to one another government policy, intellectual speculation, economic growth, and religious thought, he has at all times brought those different aspects into focus upon the central theme. Hence, while here and there—particularly in the chapter on how the Enlightenment entered Spain—the weight and fullness of his details set up barriers to easy reading, the theme itself is not obscured. In any case, the data is of value for permanent reference if not for immediate retention.

Whether one accepts the thesis in full or in part, and it seems to the reviewer that Herr has somewhat exaggerated the necessity of absolving the Enlightenment of the charge of being a disruptive factor, the study will assuredly take its place as a valuable guide to Spanish history in the eighteenth century. The authentic Spanish character of the Enlightenment in Spain is convincingly established, the impact of the French 1789 not less so. One can only hope that the author will soon give, to use his own words, "their breath of life" to the notes that he has accumulated on the era of Napoleon.

New York University LEO GERSHOY

THE HISPANIZATION OF THE PHILIPPINES: SPANISH AIMS AND FILIPINO RESPONSES, 1565–1700. By *John Leddy Phelan.* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1959. Pp. xiv, 218. $4.00.)

INVESTIGATIONS in the field of ethnohistory are a special concern of the Philippine Studies Program, a cooperative effort of the Newberry Library, the department of anthropology of the University of Chicago, and the Chicago Natural History Museum. Under these auspices the author his produced a lucid account of the fusion of Spanish and native cultures over the first century and a half of contact in the Philippines. Religious rites, social structures, land and crop systems, labor, and linguistics are some of the topics considered. By frequent analogies with Spanish experience in the Americas, he illustrates the modifications and

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adaptations made deliberately or by indirection that resulted in a composite considerably altered from any the Spanish had established elsewhere. The chief instrument of the process was the Catholic clergy, whose relationship with the *Indios* was intimate and effective. With Spanish colonists preferring the more comfortable environs of Manila, it was the religious men who fanned out over the archipelago to make the contacts that are the concern of this book.

The shortcomings of the essay arise from the magnitude of its scheme and the lack of pilot studies such as those of Padden, Rowe, Gibson, and Simpson for other areas. Specifically, the variety of native life virtually atomized into linguistic, religious, and ethnic groups makes generalizations extremely hazardous, especially when they cover a span of time which the author extends at will even into the nineteenth century. His evidence, based on chronicles, published reports, and considerable archival material, seems overwhelming in bulk, but becomes extremely thin when measured against some of his apodictical statements. For example, to show that polygamy was easily liquidated by the Spaniards in the Bisayas, he cites Pigafetta, rather too early a source to be conclusive for the century thereafter. To deny that human sacrifice was practiced in the islands is to ignore the evidence in Alcina's manuscript history from which the author draws other significant data. A statement of the same observer, described by Phelan as a criticism of the clergy for their trading propensities and consequent neglect of their religious duties, is in reality a defense of their activities. Merely annoying to the reader is the too-frequent misuse of ecclesiastical terminology.

All in all, the work deserves attention as a serious pioneering effort in a largely uncharted field.

Loyola University, Chicago PAUL S. LIETZ

AUS REICHSTAGEN DES 15. UND 16. JAHRHUNDERTS: FESTGABE DARGEBRACHT DER HISTORISCHEN KOMMISSION BEI DER BAYERISCHEN AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN ZUR FEIER IHRES HUNDERTJÄHRIGEN BESTEHENS. [Schriftenreihe der Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Shrift 5.] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1958. Pp. 423. DM 40.)

THIS book, a collection of erudite articles based mainly on primary sources and written by nine different authors, is made up of monographic odds and ends. Inasmuch as there is a unifying theme, these studies illustrate diverse aspects of the political fragmentation of Germany and Italy in the age of the Emperors Frederick III and Maximilian I. Only Herbert Grundmann's thorough narrative account of the role played in the Reichstag of Augsburg in 1530 by Landgrave Philip of Hesse, the political leader of the Lutheran princes and the founder of the first Protestant university (Marburg) in Europe, establishes a link to the problems of the Reformation.

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Several contributions explore special issues of territorial and local history. They throw light upon the background, qualities, designs, and activities of the political and executive leadership personnel and upon particular phases of the political, constitutional, institutional, and fiscal developments in a few ecclesiastical and lay principalities and urban communities, such as the archbishopric of Trier, the possessions of Duke Sigmund of Tyrol, and the city of Siena. Others are more directly concerned with problems of international diplomacy, the intra-regional shifts in the balance of power, and the ill-fated movement for the reorganization of the Empire, which was dominated by a princely oligarchy headed by Berthold von Henneberg, Elector and Archbishop of Mainz.

Most of the solid articles here assembled are learned routine exercises. They are rich in information, relevant and irrelevant, but unfortunately weak in analysis, poor in ideas, conceptually vague, and, because of their antiquarian complexion, rather dull and pointless. But few contributors to this volume have mastered their material and suggest new questions and a fresh approach. This is true of Ernst Bock's reappraisal of the corulership of Frederick III and Maximilian I during the years 1486–1493. However, the most outstanding performance, in view of the combination of impeccable craftsmanship in research with interpretive skill, sound judgment, and imaginative perspective, is Heinz Gollwitzer's inquiry into the origins and the military, diplomatic, and administrative functions of the office of *Capitaneus imperatorio nomine*. These "captains" were of passing significance in imperial towns (*Reichsstädte*), the security and stability of which were threatened from without or within. Gollwitzer has deepened and widened our understanding of the urban as well as the general history of southwestern Germany in the days of Maximilian I by focusing attention on three essentially different local case studies: the Alsatian town of Weissenburg, the Rhenish town of Boppard (where, incidentally, the local nobility, not the burghers, were the dominant force), and the prominent city of Regensburg, which, prior to the ascendancy of Nuremberg and Augsburg, had been the most important international trading center of southern Germany. It is regrettable that the usefulness of a book that will interest specialists only is impaired by the lack of an index.

Brooklyn College HANS ROSENBERG

A HISTORY OF MODERN GERMANY: THE REFORMATION. By *Hajo Holborn*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1959. Pp. xvi, 374, xxi. Trade $8.75, text $6.50.)

AT a time when most historians are devoting their energies primarily to small segments of our past, it is heartening to have a person of Professor Holborn's stature present us with his interpretation of the sweep of history and of a country whose impact on many phases of Western civilization has been highly significant. It is his purpose to reassess the past five centuries of German history in a work of

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two volumes, sufficiently detailed to acquaint the reader with the basic drives of the country, and to extend the scope of his narrative beyond the political and constitutional history to economic and social as well as religious and intellectual history. Such a fresh study, he explains, is warranted by the development of "a strong public spirit capable of sustaining the new democratic institutions of present-day Germany."

Holborn, at one time a lecturer at the University of Heidelberg and now Sterling Professor of History at Yale University, is exceptionally well qualified to write the history of modern Germany. Trained at Berlin in intellectual history under Friedrich Meinecke, in constitutional history under Otto Hintze, and in the history of Christianity under Adolf von Harnack and Karl Holl, he came under the influence of Ernst Troeltsch, who aroused his interest in philosophy and the philosophy of history, of Max Weber, whose ideas on history and sociology were still alive at Heidelberg, and of Hans von Schubert, the eminent Reformation scholar. Finally, he came to the United States, where he could view things German at a distance and from a broad perspective.

In his volume on the Reformation, the author shows how medieval Germany was transformed under the impact of the Reformation, both Protestant and Catholic, an era in which the country exerted its greatest influence on Western civilization. He divides the period into three parts. In the first, he describes the development of the German Empire and the rise of territorial states before 1500 and then summarizes German political, economic, religious, and cultural conditions at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

The second part is a masterful summary of the beginnings of Lutheranism, the interrelation of Reformation and revolution, the growth of territorial churches, and the development of the Empire under Charles V. Exceptionally helpful is his treatment of Luther's conception of church and state as compared with that of Melanchthon. He correctly maintains that Luther cannot be charged with supporting the growth of the *Machtstaat,* or power state, although the reformer glorified the *Obrigkeitsstaat,* or authoritarian state, by giving it a prestige it had not had previously.

The author discusses in the third part the problems of the confessional age, the events leading to the Thirty Years' War, the war itself, and the Peace of Westphalia, always keeping an eye on the impact of the significant events on the struggle of the emperor with the particularistic forces in Germany. Especially illuminating are his discussions of the differences between Lutheranism and Calvinism, in which he shows that he has modified the Weber-Troeltsch thesis in the light of his own acute observations of political, economic, and religious developments and their interrelations. He believes that the German cities, which were dynamic cultural centers at the beginning of the Reformation, failed to develop a dynamic, democratic Lutheranism because they lost their political autonomy to the territorial princes. During the turbulent events of the century

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after the Peace of Augsburg (1555), German Protestantism missed its many political opportunities and weakened its own religious heritage.

With the Peace of Westphalia, the author maintains, all attempts to build a strong central government in the Empire came to an end. Religious diversity was less responsible for this than the determination of the territorial princes to maintain their "liberty" and the decline of the universalism of the Catholic Church, whose popes failed to come to the support of the Catholic emperors in the critical years 1547 and 1629. Highly significant is his conclusion that the individual states emerged at the end of the Reformation as sovereign entities and, unlike the typically Renaissance state, reflected the principles of law and morality. The tendency thereafter was toward absolute monarchy, yet not unabashed tyranny. By making law and power, not power alone, the essence of the state, the Reformation revived and preserved one of the mainsprings of Western civilization.

Ohio State University HAROLD J. GRIMM

A CATALOGUE OF FILES AND MICROFILMS OF THE GERMAN FOREIGN MINISTRY ARCHIVES, 1867–1920. ([Washington, D. C.]: American Historical Association, Committee for the Study of War Documents. 1959. Pp. xliv, 1290.)

THE publication of this *Catalogue* is an occasion for rejoicing by all interested in the history of the years from 1867 to 1920. For the first time it is possible to know the richness of the materials now available for study on microfilm, materials not merely for the study of German foreign policy, but for the study of the history of every country and every social movement of those years. Almost every one of these thousand and more pages suggests some topic for investigation, whether by graduate students or by mature scholars.

Turning the pages, my thoughts went back to 1923, when I was gathering materials for my dissertation in the Foreign Office in Berlin. The archivist took me through the labyrinth of files, and, noting my bewilderment, jested about the simplicity of those who believed that Karl Kautsky could really have collected within a few months all the documents relevant to the outbreak of war in 1914. Kautsky had to tread this maze guided by, and dependent on, the archivists who knew the files.

With the *Catalogue*, the scholar can with some confidence find his way through the maze of files to the materials he seeks. His confidence would be increased, however, if the introduction were a little more explicit. For instance, the introduction implies that materials not filmed were duplicates or newspaper cuttings, or were "considered to be unimportant." But, studying the entries, doubts arise. For instance, on pages sixty-two and sixty-three there are listed thirty-four volumes of the file Deutschland 122 Nr. 3 Journalisten. The first twenty-six volumes, extending from 1885 to August 1913, were not filmed. Some material was filmed

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from each of the remaining eight volumes, covering 1913–1920, a total of almost five hundred frames. One would welcome definite assurance that the earlier volumes (and the thousands of other volumes not filmed) had all been examined and found to be unimportant. Again, reassurance is needed on the omission of duplicates. If a document is omitted because it is not the original or the working copy, is there certainty that the original has been filmed? For the period 1914–1918, large sections of the files of the Foreign Ministry's representatives at Supreme Headquarters were not filmed, probably because these documents were filmed in one of the Weltkrieg files; but assurance is needed on this point. The problem of duplicates arises also in contrary fashion. On almost any problem it is necessary to consult several files—that is, to order reels of film from several places. When the film is examined, will the student find he has purchased several copies of a large number of documents? Frequently even the same file was filmed more than once, but it is impossible to know whether the filmings duplicate or supplement each other.

Probably none of these questions can be answered by the editors with any confidence. But it would be helpful if the Committee for the Study of War Documents, in its next report to the Association, made a very full and very candid estimate of the value, and the defects, of the film collection. After all, these films were made under difficult circumstances, many of them by tired crews of historians and technicians, working day and night against time during the Berlin blockade. All students must be grateful for the films, and for this admirable *Catalogue*. But it is important that students understand the limitations of this unique collection.

Now there remains one task. At present the films are scattered over the globe. The only place where the student can find even a substantially complete collection is in the Public Record Office, London. Is it too much to expect that generous sponsors, like the Ford Foundation and the Old Dominion Foundation, having already done so much, will see the wisdom of assembling complete sets of films in the East, the Middle West, and the West of our country? No other single act could do so much to further the training of young scholars.

University of California, Berkeley RAYMOND J. SONTAG

INSURANCE IN VENICE FROM THE ORIGINS TO THE END OF THE SERENISSIMA: DOCUMENTS PUBLISHED FOR THE 125TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE COMPANY [1831–1956]. In two volumes. By *Giuseppe Stefani*. (Trieste: Assicurazioni Generali di Trieste e Venezia. 1958. Pp. viii, 327; 331–639.)

THE Assicurazioni Generali of Trieste and Venice, one of the great insurance companies in Europe, has shown remarkable historical consciousness on its 125th anniversary by collecting these 215 documents to illustrate marine insurance in Venice from 1389 to 1795. In this second and English edition of their work, the editors have wisely refrained from translating the documents themselves, but have

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given a historical introduction and other editorial aids in English. Both the documents and the introduction have been arranged according to centuries, but within each century the material is discussed topically. Non-Venetains will welcome the glossary of terms relating to the governmental and commercial institutions of the Venetian republic. Unfortunately the editors offer no cross references and no detailed index whereby the reader could refer from the documents to the historical introduction.

Giuseppe Stefani has given the documents themselves the most important place. Although they have been carefully and rigorously selected from the vast collections in the Archivio di Stato di Venezia, some pertinent texts are referred to only in the historical introduction for lack of space. The author has emphasized documents concerning the growth of insurance companies in the eighteenth century; the development of Venetian legislation governing insurance; marine insurance contracts from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries; the rise of insurance brokerage in the seventeenth century; foreigners active in Venetian commerce in the Renaissance and in the eighteenth century; corsairs, pirates, and the slave trade on the Mediterranean; the recovery of wrecked ships; and certain problems of Venetian jurisprudence. The second volume is devoted entirely to governmental records from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The translator Arturo Dawson Amoruso should be complimented for his unusual technical competence in the details of insurance, but the proofreader and the English editor needed more time.

A document of 1704 suggests that insurance is the root of all trade. With this in mind, the author attempts to describe almost every aspect of Venetian trade and commerce in the historical introduction of 202 pages. For this task, he received advice and suggestions from no less a scholar than Gino Luzzatto. But the major contribution of the volumes is the collection of documents, most of which are published for the first time. The reader might begin with the document of 1750 in which the *Capi dei Parcenevoli* review the history of insurance in Venice and suggest government action to restrain abuses. The insurance brokers present their history in a document of 1704.

The Assicurazioni Generali has spared no expense to make these volumes truly illustrative of the grandeur of Venice by including full-page color reproductions of no fewer than ninety-two works of art, twenty-four *portolani* and maps, and seventy-one documents. In these volumes the reader can sense the patriotism and reverence which modern Venetians still feel for the *Serenissima*.

Hunter College LOUISE R. BUENGER

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PIERO MARONCELLI. By *Angeline H. Lograsso.* Preface by *Luigi Sturzo.* [Quaderni del Risorgimento, Number 11–12.] (Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo. 1958. Pp. xv, 327. L. 2,000.)

IL MURATTISMO: SPERANZE, TIMORI E CONTRASTI NELLA LOTTA PER L'UNITÀ ITALIANA. By *Fiorella Bartoccini.* [L'Età del Risorgimento, Studi e Testi, a cura delle Scuole di Storia del Risorgimento delle Università di Rome e di Palermo, Number 2.] (Milan: Dott. A. Giuffrè, Editore. 1959. Pp. xiv, 273. L. 1,500.)

THESE are two works of erudition, chiefly concerned with the *risorgimento,* though throwing occasional side lights on nineteenth-century France, Austria, and America.

Piero Maroncelli (1795–1846), of whom Professor Lograsso has written an amply documented life study, is known to most Italians as one of the heroes of Silvio Pellico's pathetic classic *Le mie prigioni.* A musician and poet of unrealized promise, Maroncelli became a *Carbonaro* conspirator for the cause of Italian independence. The papal police and the Inquisition made existence impossible for him in the Romagna, his home, and drove him to seek a livelihood in Lombardy. There he became involved in new *Carbonari* activities, and ended in the ghastly Austrian Spielberg prison. He emerged from the Spielberg warped in mind and shattered in health: he never recovered from a botched leg amputation performed by an Austrian prison barber. During the years of exile after 1830 Maroncelli became a visible symbol of his country's martyrdom, and received much sympathy and some help from the genteel liberals of Paris, New York, and Boston. He translated Pellico's prison memoirs into French and helped bring out an American edition of them as well, a notable service to the Italian cause. His last years in New York were clouded by poverty and insanity, and his reputation in Italy suffered for many years from unjust suspicions. More remarkable for character than for intellect, Maroncelli remains one of the interesting minor figures of the romantic phase of the Italian independence movement.

Professor Lograsso's biography, clearly Catholic in tendency, is admirably objective in narrating the callousness and inefficiency of the restored papal government in Italy. Her work is also useful in dispelling some of the illusions, current since Metternich's time, concerning the supposedly benevolent and enlightened character of Austrian rule. The account, based on archive materials, will be of interest to students of Restoration Europe.

The movement to put Prince Lucien Murat on his father's throne, narrated in great detail by Fiorella Bartoccini, had some importance during the 1850's, but never any real prospect of success. The Prince's Neapolitan party was an adventitious group of officials and soldiers, anxious to desert the failing Bourbon monarchy of the Two Sicilies. A few impatient exiles also rallied to the Prince, but the Murat party was generally regarded by Italian democrats as a tool of Napoleon III's dynastic ambitions. The South Italian masses were inert, and the

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Sicilian patriots opposed any efforts to extend a Muratist regime to their island, which had never known the Prince's father.

Under these circumstances, Murat's chances depended entirely upon French intervention in South Italy. If Napoleon III had succeeded in his vague plans of setting up an Italian federation under French protection, then Prince Murat would have been an ideal king of Naples. But the opposition of the European conservative powers on the one side and the jealousy of Great Britain on the other made a French coup in South Italy impossible. While not openly hostile to Napoleon's cousin, Cavour did everything possible to further an eventual monarchical-unitary solution of the Italian question. From the present study it seems clear that none of the parties involved—Cavour, Napoleon, Mazzini, the British Foreign Office—had any clear idea of the complex and backward nature of South Italian politics, though all of them were fully aware of Prince Murat's gross political unfitness.

Columbia University RICHARD A. WEBSTER

Far Eastern History

BUDDHISM IN CHINESE HISTORY. By *Arthur F. Wright.* [Stanford Studies in the Civilizations of Eastern Asia.] (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1959. Pp. xiv, 144. $3.75.)

THE six essays in this volume are based on lectures originally delivered at the University of Chicago. The expressed aim of the author is to offer a "reflective interpretation of one of the great themes in the history of civilizations." In this case it is the transformation of Chinese culture by Buddhism, as well as the modification of Buddhism by that culture. The process is traced through the successive historic periods. In the opening chapter, devoted to "The Thought and Society of Han China (206 B.C.–A.D. 220)," an effective analysis is made of the cultural complex into which Buddhism was first introduced from India. Following chapters deal with "The Period of Preparation (ca. A.D. 65–317)," when scholars sought to adapt Buddhism for a Chinese audience by translating it in terms of indigenous Taoism; a "Period of Domestication (ca. 317–589)," when Buddhism gradually adjusted itself to differently evolving cultures in South and North China; a "Period of Independent Growth (ca. 589–900)," when Buddhism, better understood and flourishing as never before, permeated both the elite life of the capital and the humbler ways of towns and villages until fear of its strength brought governmental persecution; a "Period of Appropriation (ca. 900–1900)," when neo-Confucian philosophy took up Buddhistic elements into itself, religious Taoism appropriated other elements, and Buddhism as an independent movement weakened and declined; and "The Legacy of Buddhism in China," pointing to its probable future survival in language, literature, drama, and the arts, but not in the form of organized religion except as an expedient of the state.

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Professor Wright's treatment of the story of Buddhism in China is dynamic. He does not accept the traditional notion of an unchanging element in an unchanging culture. Chinese civilization has always been in process of change. So, too, has Buddhism, as it sought adjustments in the midst of varying conditions through successive centuries. Critical studies during the past forty years have made this plain. Because he takes account of these, the author's interpretive essays are freshly informative. Especially is he indebted to the labors of Zenryū Tsukamoto of the Institute of Humanistic Sciences, Kyoto, and Paul Demiéville of the Collège de France. His list of readings names works of other distinguished recent scholars in Europe, Japan, China, and America. This includes references to valuable articles in such publications as the *Journal of World History, T'oung Pao, Études asiatiques, Monumenta Nipponica, Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies,* and the *Journal of the History of Ideas.*

The six essays are written in a clear and readable style. As a whole they constitute a reliable introduction to a historical subject important for our present-day understanding of Asia.

Oberlin, Ohio CLARENCE H. HAMILTON

American History

OUT OF OUR PAST: THE FORCES THAT SHAPED MODERN AMERICA. By *Carl N. Degler.* (New York: Harper and Brothers. c. 1959. Pp. xvi, 484. $6.00.)

IN the most engaging of prefaces, Professor Degler says, "To put it simply, this book seeks an answer to the question 'How did Americans get to be the way they are in the middle of the Twentieth Century?' " Choosing "the lenses of the present" for his perspective on the past, and "the history of Americans as a people" for the field of a "broad-swinging venture," the author thinks that his book "might well be called 'An Exploration into the Origins of the American Character.' " At any rate the task he envisaged set him free to omit from a one-volume national history large categories of events that historians ordinarily retain. He mentions seventeenth-century colonial settlement and the presidential administrations between those of Andrew Johnson and Theodore Roosevelt as instances of this freedom; and, this time without warning in the preface, he omits with equal completeness all wars and conditions of war since 1865.

Two qualities of distinction raise this book above the common lot of texts and commentaries. The first is the author's open and perceptive idealism. "By nature man is moral," he believes. While this does not mean to Degler that Americans (or people in general) have been very logical creatures, it does mean that he finds in the record of the common mind and spirit the essence of national history. In this direction his tastes are both liberal and nationalistic. He makes FDR stand as the most recent figure of American greatness, and the New Deal

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as truly a revolution; he achieves eloquence in discussing the excitement and disturbance to Americans of shifting from country to city life; he is long on the history of the Negro, of labor since the Civil War, and of the assimilation of the immigrant. Although his vistas into the past do reach all the way back to the English colonizers as capitalists, and to the Puritans as sagacious and practical idealists, the lines from the middle eighteenth century, which take national and liberal directions, are the first he focuses and follows.

Degler's second distinguished achievement is his lively and illuminating use of the recent and older interpretative literature of American history. He does not expect his readers to agree fully with the judgments he renders; and the reviewer obliges by offering for illustration one man's regrets that he endorses the (as I believe) too-much endorsed opinion of Hartz about Americans having skipped the Middle Ages, that I think he misapprehends the Handlins' point about the origin of slavery, and that I believe he goes farther than exactitude requires to separate his own idea about the second American revolution from that of the Beards. There is for my taste too much "American consensus" from first to last. Yet allow a good number of exceptions, and still the author's assimilation and comment on the historians—especially in his witty footnotes—is a real tour de force.

The trouble with it all is the caprice of the total design. If aggregative social history, or the study of national character, be a survey of tributaries to modern life among which we may choose as freely as Degler does according to taste and interest, we may expect to come up with the Negro without Dubois, with modern government without military establishment or H-bomb, with religious spirit without Protestant or Catholic orthodoxy (and bare mention of neo-orthodoxy), with American thought with little James and no Dewey, with historical composition without central themes—just as we do in this book.

Johns Hopkins University CHARLES A. BARKER

CRISIS DIPLOMACY: A HISTORY OF U. S. INTERVENTION POLICIES AND PRACTICES. By *D. A. Graber*. [Published in cooperation with the Center for the Study of American Foreign Policy, University of Chicago.] (Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press. c. 1959. Pp. xviii, 402. $6.75.)

ONE fundamental quality in a nation's external relations is its willingness to commit itself to the modification or prevention of decisions within other states that offend its moral and material interests. Interventionism is an essential area of policy making for any major power, and perhaps more than any other measures the true quality of its statesmanship. For that reason no student of diplomacy can overestimate the importance of interventionist policies and practices in an evaluation of America's diplomatic past. Unfortunately the very principle of interventionism has been so completely revolutionized in the past century that much of American practice has been shrouded in obscurity.

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Before the nineteenth century interventionism was regarded by all statesmen as legitimate national policy. But nationalism, by augmenting the principle of sovereignty, and democracy, by denying the right of superior power to interfere in the affairs of the weak, have gradually relegated interventionism to the status of discredited policy. Despite this trend, the United States has behaved as a superior power and has employed all manner of coercion to protect its interests abroad. These interests have required traditionally the political predominance of this nation in the Western Hemisphere, and, second, the maintenance of an equilibrium of power in Europe and Asia so that the United States might protect its position in the New World with limited force and energy. Yet in its interventionist policies the nation has often been caught in a dilemma, for its twentieth-century philosophy of self-determination has denied the moral validity of its practices. This has often created a dichotomy between national action and its rationale, causing the author to be concerned with policy as well as the evolving American concept of interventionism itself.

In her analysis of the interventionist theme the author has divided the American experience into four chronological periods—1789–1848, 1849–1898, 1899–1939, 1940–1958. At the same time she separated this nation's world relationships into three precise areas—Europe, Asia, and Latin America. This segmenting of past interventionist policies according to time and place serves to illustrate the fundamental evolution of American foreign relations from the days of relative impotence to those of great power. Before the twentieth century American leaders maintained a studied balance between national power and the specific interests to be guaranteed. They avoided objectives in Europe, Asia, and even Latin America that might have exceeded the national interest or committed American power unwisely. At the turn of the century intervention became accepted policy in Latin America and the Far East, where opposing power was weak or nonexistent. Only as the century wore on, and especially in the cold war, did the United States activate policies designed to influence affairs in Europe and throughout much of the world.

This imposing synthesis can make only limited claim to originality. Much of the material presented is well known to diplomatic historians and of limited importance to the nonspecialist and the concept of interventionism itself. There are occasional references to significant sources, but the author has relied chiefly on her extensive knowledge of monographic materials. Perhaps a substantial reduction in the size of the volume would have made its central theme, so clearly stated and so essential for an understanding of America's diplomatic experience, even more explicit.

University of Illinois NORMAN A. GRAEBNER

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AMERICAN JEWRY DOCUMENTS: EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, PRIMARILY HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED MANUSCRIPTS. Edited by *Jacob Rader Marcus.* [Publications of the American Jewish Archives, Number 3.] (Cincinnati, Ohio: Hebrew Union College Press; distrib. by University Publishers, New York. 1959. Pp. xix, 492. $8.50.)

ESSAYS IN AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORY TO COMMEMORATE THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES UNDER THE DIRECTION OF JACOB RADER MARCUS. [Publications of the American Jewish Archives, Number 4.] (Cincinnati, Ohio: American Jewish Archives; distrib. by University Publishers, New York, 1958. Pp. xvii, 534. $7.50.)

Writers on American colonial history are increasingly aware of their dependence on source materials for what is fittingly termed "sub-history," the documentation of the lives and socio-economic relations of the relatively obscure people who made up the bulk of the population. The first book reproduces almost two hundred hitherto unpublished documents of this type—letters, entries from Congregational minute books, a good conduct bond for a privateer, a petition to Congress, some advertisements. The papers printed here (each with a full and pertinent introduction) are divided into four sections: "The Personal Life," "The Religious Life," "The General Community" (dealing with relations of Jew and non-Jew), and "Commerce and Trade." These texts reveal the extent to which Jews in America found greater opportunities for self-fulfillment and participation in the life of the American community than they had experienced in various parts of Europe. In turn they were among the busiest of American pioneers, serving in the army, petitioning for new roads, buying grain and running country stores, meeting with the general community in settling a new world. It is refeshing to find a source book that abandons the familiar political framework of many histories and emphasizes the daily life, and in particular the business patterns of colonial people. Many documents, such as George Washington's famous letters to the Jews, often reprinted, are here deliberately omitted, so that we have an addendum to and an enlargement of some of the older documentary histories of the Jews in this country, departing from the familiar and mining a considerable deposit of fresh materials. The appearance of the printed page is spacious, the editing and indexing all that could be desired. No serious student of American life in the eighteenth century can ignore this production. We may hope to see later volumes in the same vein.

The second volume constitutes a memorial to the founding of the American Jewish Archives on the Cincinnati campus of the Hebrew Union College. At the same time it is a *Festschrift* for the sixty-second birthday of the founder and director of the Archives, Jacob Rader Marcus. The conjunction of the Archives and the man is quite fitting, for, as Bertram W. Korn says in the "Appreciation": "Every new academic venture, every scholarly institution, is in truth the fruit

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of one man's labor of love. No scientific society, no scholarly library, no college, ever moved from a prospectus on paper to fulfillment in reality without the affectionate and whole-souled devotion of one man." Archivists and historians, indeed institution-builders of all sorts, will be impressed and inspired by the picture of the indefatigable industry of Marcus in establishing the Archives, developing new courses for which there were few precedents, illuminating a generation of historical-minded researchers, and organizing the first studies of American Jewish history on a scientific basis. One fruit of his labors was the two-volume *Early American Jewry.*

The book *Essays,* besides a biographical sketch and a list of Marcus' writings from 1916 through 1958, contains nineteen articles of quite varying lengths and purposes. In addition to a penetrating philosophical essay, "A Decisive Pattern in American Jewish History" by Ellis Rivkin, there are considerations of genealogy, grammar and textbook writing, and the founding of a seminary in New York. Isaac Leeser, David Einhorn, Wolf Shur, and Cyrus Adler are considered as literary influences and as men of action. Some bibliographical essays fill in the gaps in the history of Judaica in the United States. This book helps break new ground in American social and intellectual history, and is well representative of the purposes of the Archives and the mind of their founder.

University of Denver ALLEN D. BRECK

FEDERAL BUDGET AND FISCAL POLICY, 1789–1958. By *Lewis H. Kimmel.* (Washington, D. C.: Brookings Institution. 1959. Pp. x, 337. $5.00.)

THIS volume represents a careful piece of traditional scholarship in historical research. The appropriate sources are properly cited. No major primary sources have been ignored and a judicious use of secondary material is evidenced in both context and documentation.

Quite properly, approximately two-thirds of the volume deal with the period following the onslaught of the Great Depression. Budget rather than fiscal policy dominated the first 140 years of our national history. To the reviewer, the volume comes to life when the author moves to his discussion of fiscal policy. But in this reaction, the reviewer is probably reflecting his own provincialism in fiscal matters.

The tracing of the development of both the concept and application of modern fiscal policies of the national government is carefully done. Not only are the official announcements of policy decisions noted, but so too are the actual operations carefully cited in summary financial tables. The discussion comes to the close of the fiscal year 1958 and is therefore as current as possible.

One lays aside the volume with mixed reactions. First, the fundamental changes in our economy seem to have altered the basic postulates of orthodox economic theory. Changes in theory seem to have produced changes in fiscal policies. Policies seem to become rationalizations of events. Perhaps this has always

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been so. But it seems to be increasingly clear as the author moves to his conclusion that from "the beginning of our National history, ideas in public finance have been influenced by the unfolding of events." At any event, it is crystal clear when the author discusses the gradual, fumbling, flexible fiscal policy of the national government during the past thirty years.

A second reaction is far more hopeful; namely, our fiscal policies seem to develop out of the needs of a time and seem, for all their theoretical justifications, to be pragmatic rather than dogmatic in their application. In this they seem to reflect the basic nature of our society. The current administration most certainly agrees with the Truman statement that budget and fiscal policies "are tools of national policy. As such they are subjects of controversy and evolution."

The volume should be read by all students of our economy and of our political life.

University of Kansas ETHAN P. ALLEN

THE MAN IN THE WHITE HOUSE: HIS POWERS AND DUTIES. By *Wilfred E. Binkley*. (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins Press. 1958. Pp. 310. $6.00.)

WHITE HOUSE IMAGES AND REALITIES. By *Holman Hamilton*. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 1958. Pp. xi, 98. $3.50.)

OF "making many books" on the presidency "there is no end," but if all books on the subject were as useful and perceptive as these, we would have no right to complain of a surfeit of riches.

Professor Binkley's book is the more substantial of the two, for into it he has put all the insight and charm and sense of proportion that have marked each of his remarkable books on American institutions. If it is not as fresh and commanding as his *President and Congress* (a book, may I say, that cries out for a new edition), there is much in *The Man in the White House* to instruct even Professor Corwin. I was especially impressed by his second chapter, "Apprenticeship for the Presidency," in which he describes the roads to glory traveled by all the great and near-great Presidents from Washington to Eisenhower, although I am sorry that he did not move from description to generalization and give us his own idea of the perfect course of preparation for the presidency—not that we should ever expect each candidate to go through it with high marks. His fourth to sixth chapters, in which he writes with the touch of a master about the politics of the presidency, are hardly less instructive. Those students (of whom I have an astounding number) who think of the ideal President as someone able to rise above the heat of party strife would do well to read and ponder these chapters. The importance of the presidency in molding our politics and of politics as a weapon of the successful President have never been stated more clearly and conclusively than in these chapters. Finally, Binkley has a number of wise things to say on the symbolism of the presidency in Chapter XIV, things that others have

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said before, but never quite so lucidly. There are critical questions I could raise against *The Man in the White House*—for instance, why does Binkley persist in ranking McKinley among the first ten Presidents?—but this would serve only to mask the one positive point I want to make: that it takes years of study, of living with an institution, before a man can write a book as sound as this one, and I salute Binkley for having given us this distillation of his own several-score-years' study of our greatest political invention.

Professor Hamilton has already earned our gratitude with his conclusive biography of Zachary Taylor, and this little book, the printed record of three lectures delivered at the University of Florida, is his own attempt to move from the specific to the general. He does this, I think, with considerable success. His first chapter deals obliquely with the very subject that attracted Binkley—the roads to the White House. I say "obliquely" because he seems to be more interested in what made our leading Presidents available for nomination, while Binkley concentrates his attention on what made them the kinds of Presidents they were. His second chapter is still another inning in a game we have all played at one time or another, "ranking the President"; his third is an attempt, not too well brought off, I fear, to tell us something of the processes through which "the Presidential image" is projected on the consciousness of the American people—and projected again and again with the passing of the years. It is, in effect, a call to all American historians to turn more of their talents to presidential biography. I hope that Hamilton is even now answering this call with the devotion and skill he demonstrated in his work on Zachary Taylor. Well, Professor Hamilton?

Cornell University CLINTON ROSSITER

THE OHIO COMPANY: ITS INNER HISTORY. By *Alfred P. James.* (Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. c. 1959. Pp. xxiv, 375. $6.00.)

THE history of the fortunes of the Ohio Company now seems to be complete with the publication of the present book by Professor James. Recent work in the same field—H. P. Bailey's *The Ohio Company of Virginia* and Louis Mulhearn's *George Mercer Papers Relating to the Ohio Company of Virginia*—supplied many new facets concerning that great speculative effort. Without neglecting other aspects, James has centered his interest on the Company's inner history, not much of which has heretofore been known. He is especially qualified for the task because of his intimate familiarity with the sources of mid-eighteenth-century western history, as his prior writings and documentary editions have demonstrated.

In the present instance both state and county archives of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania have been thoroughly searched with rewarding results. Ample use has likewise been made of the extensive collection of Ohio Company papers in the Darlington Library, University of Pittsburgh. More distant repositories of manuscripts in the United States and Great Britain have also been utilized. James has uncovered many papers bearing on the financial affairs of the Company and

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of numerous meetings of its representatives. To be sure, many hiatuses in the documentary sources remain due to the destruction by fire of the George Mason papers and the loss also by fire of Ohio Company records in Williamsburg in 1781 and 1859, and in Richmond in 1865.

For the first time we now have a view of the Ohio Company as a commercial organization as well as a land company. Files of archival materials in the county courthouses of Virginia and Maryland disclosed innumerable suits at law, generally in behalf of the Company, for sums due on various categories of goods. Such suits are described in detail in successive pages of the book. "Here we have sufficient evidence that the Ohio Company of Virginia had actively entered into trade and merchandising in the summer of 1750. Since only accounts which caused trouble and produced litigation are known to have survived, it is impossible to do more than estimate the volume of business and number of accounts, most of which were probably on credit." James goes on to emphasize that although the Company had other interests, such as the establishment of settlements and the promotion of Indian trade in the Ohio Valley, it succeeded well in its trading operations with farmers and merchants along the Potomac in Virginia and Maryland, and with military officers; its earnings amounted to approximately 20 per cent on its investment in goods bought in London, where the Company's contact was John Hanbury, merchant, who joined the Company at the solicitation of the Virginia members.

The speculative ventures of the Ohio Company, however, were frustrated for several reasons. An irresolute British government demonstrated a complete ambivalence respecting western colonization. Secretary of State for the Colonies Sir Henry Conway was opposed to settlements west of the Alleghanies; his successor in 1756, Lord Shelburne, was an ardent advocate of such establishments, but Hillsborough, who became Secretary in 1768, was adamant in his opposition to such a policy. The Board of Trade was ineffective. Distance and difficulties of communication with home authorities likewise added to the confusion. Perhaps more important was the appearance of rival companies whose progenitors petitioned for grants overlapping the proposed concession of the Ohio Company. In 1763, for example, the Mississippi Land Company, whose roster contained some members of the Ohio Company, with the addition of George Washington, petitioned for a huge grant extending to the Mississippi River. There were also the Vandalia Company, the Walpole Company, and the Indiana Land Company, which were subsequently merged into the Grand Ohio Company of Pennsylvania sponsored by Benjamin Franklin during his long tenure as agent of several American colonies; Franklin was far more influential in London than the representatives of the Ohio Company.

More significant than any other force in throttling the ambitious prospects of all the land companies were the French war of 1754–1763, the royal proclamation of 1763 which forbade white settlements west of the Alleghanies, the rebellion

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of Pontiac, and finally the American Revolution. The persistence of the Ohio Company, however, is illustrated by its attempt (1772–1779) to secure a grant in Kentucky, then a part of Virginia. But this proved to be an expensive and futile project. The efforts of the Company "were frustrated by politics and law." James concludes that the exertions of the Ohio Company were on the whole beneficial both to its members and to the public.

In the documentary portion of the book are reproduced hitherto unpublished papers such as land warrants, accounts, bills of sale, assignments, indentures, and George Mercer's report to Lord Shelburne on the state of the Company's affairs in 1767.

National Archives CLARENCE E. CARTER

MAPPING THE TRANSMISSISSIPPI WEST, 1540–1861. Volume II, FROM LEWIS AND CLARK TO FREMONT, 1804–1845. By *Carl I. Wheat.* (San Francisco, Calif.: Institute of Historical Cartography. 1958. Pp. xiii, 281. $60.00.)

ANY collector of fine books will find that his hands itch for this volume, and will look hopefully toward his existing bank balance. Only an extremely insensitive reader could turn the large pages with their beautiful paper and type and the excellently produced maps without a feeling that approaches reverential awe. That there are men willing to invest the necessary thousands of hours of careful and intelligent work and that there are publishers willing to put their best skill into such a job are reassuring as to human nature and as to the future of history. Every cartographer, geographer, western historian, and collector of fine books will consider this volume as one of his prized possessions—that is, if he can afford to buy it. Unfortunately, the necessarily high price will put the four-volume set out of reach of all but a few of the most affluent of college professors. We can only hope that their respective libraries will feel able to afford the volumes, so that the poor professor can now and then finger the pages with covetous admiration.

The present volume starts with Lewis and Clark and ends just before the Mexican War. The fifty-eight maps show specifically and concretely the development of geographic knowledge about the West, and it is fascinating to watch the mountains and rivers appear, and gradually to take their proper places. The text explains the sources of the maps and their outstanding characteristics; particularly interesting are the intelligent and informed guesses as to the amount of copying involved. An unusually great effort has been made to attain accuracy, and Mr. Wheat notes that he has discovered only one minor slip in the first volume; this statement is entirely credible. Credit for the volume should go mainly to Wheat, a talented and dedicated amateur, and to Dale Lowell Morgan, an equally dedicated professional, whose work with the Bancroft Library is well known to all historians of the West. The volume is dedicated to Morgan.

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Even the most casual reader will recognize the infinite time and loving care that have been lavished on this book by both authors and publishers. Possibly one minor adverse criticism is permissible. The maps and the text explaining them are not always physically close to each other, with the result that the reader scrambles a little to put them together. Very possibly this difficulty cannot be avoided, and certainly it is not serious. Any proper reaction to this piece of work can only be complete enthusiasm.

Dartmouth College ROBERT E. RIEGEL

RISK AND TECHNOLOGICAL INNOVATION: AMERICAN MANUFACTURING METHODS DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By *W. Paul Strassmann*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. c. 1959. Pp. x, 249. $4.00.)

By the beginning of the twentieth century the great industrial progress of the United States was being attributed to the uniquely innovating or inventive character of American entrepreneurs. In popular writing and speechmaking they were portrayed as showing the wonders that could be accomplished by vigorous individualists in a freely competitive society. W. Paul Strassmann's book is an important addition to the literature that is reducing the proportions of this myth. As a writer attacking a formidable tradition he may go too far in the other direction, but on the whole his approach is a valuable corrective.

Strassmann is impressed by the conservatism of American entrepreneurs. Faced with abundant resources and an expanding market, they were inclined to be uncritical in matters of technological efficiency. Most of these mid-century entrepreneurs were also lacking in essential knowledge. Much of the knowledge they had came from immigrant technicians familiar with foreign processes, which were generally more trusted than American. Understandably, professional technicians were more ready than owners to take chances, "but only a few men even among the experts were in a favorable position for seeing these opportunities and they had a tendency to underestimate the possibilities. Consequently they concentrated on the most obvious and safe innovations."

The business conditions favorable to innovation varied with the capital and knowledge required. Where both amounts were low, as in machine tools, small companies could lead in initiating changes, but if long experimentation and large investment were necessary, as in electricity, then big companies could outdistance smaller ones. In efforts to profit from innovation patents were seldom used to create monopoly. The holder of the patent usually took royalties from general licensing rather than risk the litigation involved in trying to exclude competitors.

Strassmann concludes that "the fluid social structure with its materialistic orientation, the non-existent or weak labor unions, the disinterested governments

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and the competitive framework of industry are the epitomy of low customer and low interference risks." While in the context used this statement is true, in a broad view of the effect of American conditions on innovation, skilled labor scarcity and relatively high wages were an incentive to mechanization, and governments, as shown in military contracts and in subsidies to industry and transportation, were far from disinterested.

Having written a book bearing on important aspects of American national character and on critical elements in economic growth, one may wish that Strassmann had pursued his research further. Except for letters of Andrew Carnegie, who was atypical in many respects, no use is made of manuscript sources. Consequently, the actual deliberations and interplay of motives preceding the rejection or adoption of an innovation, the facts necessary to support a case for overconservatism can only be inferred from external evidence.

University of Pennsylvania THOMAS C. COCHRAN

MARTIN VAN BUREN AND THE MAKING OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY. By *Robert V. Remini.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1959. Pp. viii, 271. $5.00.)

PROFESSOR Remini has bravely undertaken to plug one of the major gaps in American historiography by writing a full biography of Martin Van Buren. Midway in this monumental task, he has paused to present the first fruits of his labors, a volume recounting Van Buren's part in forming the Jackson Democratic party in the years 1821–1828. Van Buren, the argument runs, deeply deplored the "no-partyism" of the Monroe era. A Jeffersonian ideologue and at the same time a superb practical politician, he sought unremittingly, skillfully, and successfully to revive the two-party organization of American politics, as essential to the restoration of pure Jeffersonian principles and policies. In the process he became the chief architect of the emerging Jackson party.

In making his case, the author gives us fresh detail on Van Buren's role during these years, but the total result is not altogether satisfactory or convincing. One may agree that Van Buren was in part a sincere ideologue, but there is here a tone of special pleading, a tendency to take Van Buren's own explanations of his motives at face value, a tendency to inflate the importance of his role.

The evidence adduced simply does not support the claim: "The making of the Democratic party—or, more precisely, the revamping of the Republican party—was largely the work of Martin Van Buren," that "he alone discharged the tremendous task of basic reorganization." Actually, as the author recognizes, Van Buren could not come out openly for Jackson until 1827; meanwhile the Calhounites and Jackson's personal friends had already launched the Jackson campaign. Van Buren did play a major part in bringing the reluctant Crawford Radicals of the South into the Jacksonian coalition, but they would almost

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certainly have ended up there anyhow, as they had nowhere else to go. And here the author may have missed a chance to explore more deeply Van Buren's still obscure relations with these southern politicians.

In his chapter on the Tariff of Abominations (drawn from an article previously published in this journal), Remini credits himself with laying the myth that the Van Burenites intended the measure to fail; actually John A. Garraty's *Silas Wright* set the record straight on this point ten years ago. In the same chapter he explains that his analysis cannot be carried further because the *Register of Debates* did not report roll call votes on key amendments; apparently he did not consult the Senate and House *Journals*.

To sum up, this book lacks the sense of political realism and the quality of shrewd conjecture that characterize the best political history. Yet it presents useful new detail; and it does establish a plausible basis for the author's claim that Van Buren "deserves a better reputation than he has enjoyed from Americans generally and historians particularly." The reviewer believes this claim correct, and looks forward to Remini's further work to establish it on a more secure basis.

University of California, Berkeley CHARLES GRIER SELLERS, JR.

MILLARD FILLMORE: BIOGRAPHY OF A PRESIDENT. By *Robert J. Rayback*. [Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society, Volume 40.] (Buffalo, N. Y.: Henry Stewart, Inc., for the Society. 1959. Pp. xiv, 470. $7.50.)

THE series of biographies of the nineteenth-century Presidents of the United States has at length been completed. Fillmore had to wait long for his "life"; hitherto campaign biographies and a short, sketchy book published by William E. Griffis in 1915 had to suffice. The reason for this long delay becomes clear to those reading this honest biography. Despite Fillmore's Horatio Alger career "from log cabin to White House," there was little in his personal experience to provoke interest. There is not much that is attractive about a timid man who often prefers to sidestep difficult situations.

To give him his due, it must be admitted that Fillmore had a capacity for overcoming difficulty up to a certain point. Urged on by ambition, he triumphed over youthful hardship, and, capitalizing on his attractive appearance, he worked hard, attained dignity, and became well off and well thought of. But he would go only so far. His native timidity bred in him a caution that prevented him from daring real chances. Though politically ambitious, he was content during most of his life to let chance and other persons direct his course. When a hard battle was indicated he preferred to withdraw.

Despite this tendency, he played a not inconspicuous role in the complex drama of New York politics, 1830–1860, a drama in which only skilled actors could perform with any hope of success. He occupied the Whig stage with such master thespians as Weed and Seward. For many years he worked with Weed,

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but in the end it must be admitted that he had neither the brains nor the gall needed to be awarded the title script.

During the years of his cooperation with Weed, Fillmore proved himself a capable legislator both in the New York Assembly and in Congress. He was affable, ready at compromise, and adept at piloting bills through committee and House. Also, brief service as New York state comptroller indicated administrative ability. Between sessions he was a good money-making lawyer. Chance, however, and probably his own contriving, led him, with the support of Weed's opponents, to become Vice-President.

At this point in his career he believed he could, and should, take over the management of the federal patronage in New York. The details of what followed are not too clear and there are charges of bad faith on both sides which this biography does not entirely resolve. At any rate, Weed and Seward moved in and cut the ground out from under Fillmore, leaving him little. Then, ironically enough, President Taylor died and Fillmore reigned in his stead. The new executive exacted scarcely any reprisals, and in keeping with the dignity of the office, undertook to rise above factional politics. He did his best to allay sectional strife by promoting the Compromise of 1850 and otherwise made a respectable, if at times indecisive, President. He exerted no real effort to secure renomination and thus probably escaped the humiliation of defeat at the polls in 1852.

This is a curious and complicated story well told. It is a "portrait," not a comprehensive "life and times." It is based largely on the manuscript riches concentrated in central and western New York. The notes, however, carry no references to certain of the other manuscript collections of Whigs, some of whom were closely associated with Fillmore. Furthermore, the author has combined with his excellent analysis the burden of defense and justification. There appears to be a tendency to make Fillmore and Weed appear as champions of good and evil. The fact probably is that they were both playing the same game, only Weed was better at it. The book fills a gap which has long needed filling, and the author is to be complimented for assuming a difficult responsibility.

University of Pennsylvania ROY F. NICHOLS

POLITICS, REFORM AND EXPANSION, 1890–1900. By *Harold U. Faulkner.* [The New American Nation Series.] (New York: Harper and Brothers. c. 1959. Pp. xiv, 312. $5.00.)

IN this book Mr. Faulkner develops the "watershed" thesis of the 1890's. This was the decade in which Americans turned their attention from the Civil War and the frontier to urban industrialism and international expansion. In some instances this approach leads to fruitful specific reinterpretation. He argues, for example, that the Democrats lost the election of 1896, not because employers intimidated and coerced urban workers, but because Bryan represented the old America and repelled rather than attracted the urban masses. For the most part, how-

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ever, Faulkner does not carry through with the analysis his over-all point of view suggests.

A major reason for this failure is that the book is a formal, descriptive history that emphasizes facts organized in logical categories rather than an analysis of the dynamics of historical development. The economic chapters stress the outward details of economic institutions but do not explore processes of growth in the economy or of change in economic structure. In speaking of the "decline of agriculture," for example, Faulkner does not analyze the nature or causes of the increasing productivity per man, which enabled industry to overtake farming. He describes the number and size of business combinations, but not their economic roots or results; consolidations in transportation, but not the changing patterns of commercial relationships which railroads created; rural free delivery as an aid to farmers, but not as an element of profound changes in distribution.

The political chapters are "presidential history" in its classic form, with emphasis on conventions, elections, cabinet making, top-level legislative battles, and the diplomacy of war and peace, rather than on patterns of political values and behavior. In treating elections, for example, Faulkner is concerned primarily with the question of who won and why. But more significant are the direction, intensity, and location of change in political sentiment. These problems raise even more basic questions. Why, of the seventy-five congressional seats that the Democrats gained in 1890, did only nine come from centers of agrarian unrest and fifty-four from New England, the Middle Atlantic, and East Central states? Why did the Democrats lose strength between 1890 and 1892, while the Republicans gained, even in Populist territory? Why did the election of 1894 involve the greatest change in voter sentiment between any two congressional elections from the Civil War to the present day? Why did the Democrats actually gain strength in 1896 over 1894? Questions such as these shift attention from 1896 and agrarian revolt, on which Faulkner concentrates, to 1894 and other factors.

By the same token, one can justifiably object to Faulkner's dismissal of the cultural side of politics. Prohibition and language laws, he argues, were proposals that the gold Democrats brought forth to "divert the issue" from the real problem of agrarian unrest. The immigrants' opposition to urban reform he attributes to ignorance of the workings of democracy and control by the "machine boss." Yet, closer observation of voting behavior would lead one to conclude that the red herrings of cultural conflict were the stuff and substance of political differences and that the immigrant resisted reform not from ignorance but because he knew that reformers were hostile toward him and his ways of life.

Politics, Reform and Expansion summarizes very well the more traditional views of historians about the 1890's, but it incorporates little of the new approaches to history that have appeared on the horizon in the past decade and a half.

State University of Iowa SAMUEL P. HAYS

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ISSUES AND CONFLICTS: STUDIES IN TWENTIETH CENTURY AMERICAN DIPLOMACY. Edited by *George L. Anderson*. (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press. 1959. Pp. 374. $5.00.)

THIS book is a series of essays that resulted from a symposium on American diplomatic history held at the University of Kansas in the summer of 1957. The essays cover a wide range of subjects; four of them deal with various aspects of Far Eastern policy, and are written by William L. Neumann, David Nelson Rowe, Richard L. Walker, and John A. De Novo; two deal with problems commonly described as revisionism, and are written by Louis Martin Sears and Arthur Kemp; two, by Roland N. Stromberg and Robert H. Ferrell, are concerned with Wilsonian diplomacy; the remainder touch on a wide variety of subjects, such as the Balfour declaration, the Kellogg Pact, the role of immigrant groups in American diplomacy, the Nuremberg trials, patterns of conflict and understanding in German-American relations, cultural anti-Americanism in Latin American history; and one, to borrow the language of Professor Anderson, editor of the volume, "leaves the usual path of diplomatic history to explore from the vantage point of changes in communications the philosophical problem of rigid determinisms with their pessimistic implications versus an open system which emphasizes the capacity of the contriving brain and skillful hand of man to discover new ways of doing things." (The reviewer thus quotes because he himself is not quite sure, even after careful reading, what the last mentioned essay proves.)

It is impossible to analyze each one of these essays in a brief review. Which of these various papers is the most stimulating and which the most vulnerable is a matter of judgment, and on this question the reviewer is far from claiming infallibility. It is perhaps significant that the editor has twice felt obliged to footnote the article of Professor Sears on "Historical Revisionism," suggesting the possibility of an exaggerated judgment. The first instance of this is where Sears declares that the older publishing houses (since World War II) "had become responsible to Rockefeller and other pressures determined to snuff out all revisionism before it reared its ugly head to damage Franklin Roosevelt and his war mythology." The second is where the author speaks of General Marshall's famous horseback ride on the morning of Pearl Harbor, and observes, "Why Marshall lent himself to this conspiracy (i.e., the deliberate attempt to provoke the Japanese attack) has never been divulged."

Of an entirely different nature is Neumann's essay on "Determinism, Density and Myth in the American Image of China." Thick-and-thin defenders of our China policy will not like this article. But it is a well-documented study of the elements that entered into that policy, and of the doubtful assumptions upon which American action was based.

A very fine piece of analysis has been done by Stromberg in his essay on "The Riddle of Collective Security, 1916–1920." He brings out with great clarity ambiguities in the idea itself, and he shows how the struggle between Wilson

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and Lodge was hardly more than a semantic battle, and that the President's attempt to establish a moral as distinct from a legal obligation under Article Ten involved confusion of thought and weakened his own position. Yet he is wise enough to see that whatever may be said in criticism of the President, there was in Wilson's view an appeal for an act of faith, and that such an act of faith might have had beneficient consequences. This is all Wilsonians ought to ask.

Other essays were to the reviewer of particular interest. Professor Ferrell has discussed penetratingly Wilson's real attitude toward the problem of open diplomacy, and showed that it offers little warrant for the view, popular in some quarters today, that day-to-day negotiations should come under public scrutiny. Mr. Lilienthal has dealt challengingly with the Balfour declaration, and demonstrated how far the British government of 1917 was from accepting Zionism, and how the course of events resulted in the distortion of the declaration itself. Mr. Davidson has given an interesting account of the Nuremberg trials, and his paper is full of startling facts not commonly known.

The collection as a whole illustrates the wide range of thought brought to bear upon the problems of foreign policy, and the infinite complexities involved in finding answers to international issues.

Rochester, New York DEXTER PERKINS

THE PRESIDENT'S CABINET: AN ANALYSIS IN THE PERIOD FROM WILSON TO EISENHOWER. By *Richard F. Fenno, Jr.* [Harvard Political Studies.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1959. Pp. xii, 327. $5.50.)

SHUNNING the conventional historical and legalistic approach to the President's cabinet, Professor Fenno essays to interpret it mainly in terms of the social forces and personal factors that have shaped it. With abundant data and cogent reasoning he adduces convincing judgments.

The President's cabinet is emphatically *sui generis* with separation of powers setting its peculiar pattern. It is "inextricably involved in the legislature, bureaucracy, political parties and interest groups." Each new cabinet department, usually having evolved from a minor agency or a combination of several of them, has its natural history. Nearly every department has its constituency consisting of the private interests concerned with its functions. This enables the President to sound out the department head as to whether his constituency will "go along" with an administration policy. Nor should anyone assume that a department functions primarily in the public interest; the Commerce Department, for example, exists to promote commerce. The poor Secretary of State heads a department with no special constituency and consequently he plays a weak hand.

The President's cabinet does not stand or fall together. It lacks cohesion and thus accurately reflects the pluralism of American society. The cabinet member is torn between loyalty to the President and to his constituency, with the latter ex-

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erting the stronger pull. So jealous is he of his department that he keeps its problems out of cabinet discussions, but lines up with his colleagues after the meetings for private conferences with the President about his problems. Thus cabinet integration is virtually impossible, and since each successive President deals with his cabinet as he pleases, continuity is unattainable.

Each President's cabinet appointees reflect his social or political philosophy. Thus Eisenhower packed his with business executives, while a political President aims at a cross section of the nation's group structure or that of his party. "The forces that interact in comprising the appointing process are the basic forces of the American political system," observes Fenno. But a President must put up with what he can get. So poor is the prestige of a cabinet post that senators, representatives, and governors shun it, and most cabinets consist largely of persons the public scarcely knows. There is no such apprenticeship for the post as England affords. Fenno concludes that "the Cabinet as it exists today is like the vermiform appendix, a standing refutation of the axiom that its usefulness keeps it alive."

Ohio Northern University WILFRED E. BINKLEY

THE AF OF L FROM THE DEATH OF GOMPERS TO THE MERGER. By *Philip Taft.* (New York: Harper and Brothers. c. 1959. Pp. xi, 499. $7.50.)

WHEN Philip Taft's *The AF of L in the Time of Gompers* was published in 1957 it was widely hailed by reviewers as a significant contribution to labor history. The recently published companion volume, *The AF of L from the Death of Gompers to the Merger,* will undoubtedly bring forth similar accolades of praise.

In this present work, the author follows the same general approach taken in the first volume, concentrating mainly on the AF of L itself, and minimizing such factors as the social, economic, and political backgrounds of the labor movement. Purposely, the central theme is the organization per se; the reader, therefore, should not expect to find in these volumes a general history of American labor.

As the title suggests, the period covered in the second volume is from the death of Gompers in 1924 to the AF of L-CIO merger of 1956. In thirty-four short and tightly written chapters Taft describes the AF of L's development during those thirty-two years: its inactivity following the death of Gompers, its struggle to survive the ravages of depression, its growth during the "sunny" days of the New Deal, its support of the defense and war efforts, its fight against the postwar reaction and the Taft-Hartley Act, and its role in the movement for unification. The author is especially attentive to the postwar development since 1946. Devoting no less than 231 pages to this era, he discusses such topics as the AF of L's contact with European union movements, labor's postwar political activity, and labor's attitude toward Korea and foreign policy in general.

Taft handles his subject topically within a loose chronological framework. The narrative does not really flow but often consists of a number of short essays on various phases of AF of L activity in a restricted time period. While Taft writes

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clearly, one can hardly call the result brilliant or even spritely, and reader interest often lags. Numerous sections of the second volume, as with the first, concentrate on the organization's jurisdictional, structural, and departmental problems, none of which will probably create enthusiasm for the average reader. Yet it is here that Taft makes his greatest contributions. Such information cannot be found easily elsewhere, and this fact in particular makes Taft's volumes unique.

Taft obviously is a partisan of the AF of L. Such sympathy enables him to treat his subject with feeling, but sometimes he allows his zeal to blur his critical judgment. When a few matters turn up, such as the AF of L's poor record on racial discrimination, he attempts to exonerate the AF of L on the excuse that it lacked coercive power over its member unions. Fortunately such partisanship is usually kept in check and the few indiscretions committed do not substantially mar the finished product.

More serious, perhaps, is the author's lack of interpretation. This present volume, far more than the first, begs for some broad interpretive strokes; yet few appear. The work would be far more valuable and more readable had the author permitted himself the luxury of a bolder treatment. On two sensitive matters in particular he might have made some observations which would have been of great value: Communism in American labor and labor corruption. Indeed, these two important facets of modern labor history are handled with extreme caution and then only rather superficially. Crowded together in a single chapter of sixteen pages, neither topic receives adequate discussion or analysis.

Despite the shortcomings, however, the present volume together with the earlier one constitute by far the most authoritative and definitive history of the AF of L now in print. Through this study Taft has rendered the historical profession and the cause of labor history an invaluable service. The same path will not have to be trod again for some time to come.

Pennsylvania State University ROBERT K. MURRAY

THE AGE OF ROOSEVELT. Volume II, THE COMING OF THE NEW DEAL. By *Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. c. 1958. Pp. xii, 669. $6.75.)

WITH this volume Professor Schlesinger gets to the heart of the subject matter of his important and long-awaited magnum opus. He is here concerned chiefly with the domestic aspects of the New Deal in 1933 and 1934. Although he does deal fully and convincingly with the London Economic Conference (incidentally passing on a superb Cordell Hull anecdote), he has reserved the foreign affairs of the period for a subsequent volume. The result is a first-rate piece of historical writing, centering upon the President but skillfully developing the major themes topically. The sequence is from an introductory chapter ("Prologue: The Hundred Days") to studies of agriculture, industry (in which he deals at length with the

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NRA), money, the tariff, relief, public works, social security, conservation and resource development, labor, the regulation of business, the air mail crisis (which loomed so important at the time but which historians have unaccountably tended to neglect), the rise of the conservative opposition, and 1934 electoral victories for the administration.

The last four chapters are in a section called "Evolution of the Presidency." In them Schlesinger passes his judgment upon Roosevelt, both as President and as human being. FDR emerges as a traditionalist who conceived of his program as a return to first principles of conduct. His deviousness and inconsistency, two of the major problems facing the sympathetic historian, Schlesinger sees as tactical flexibility. The result is a picture that is fresh and exciting, the product of an author who has had experience with practical politicians and knows that politics is indeed the art of the possible. There is here none of the lament of the doctrinaire liberal intellectual, still remorseful because FDR failed to nationalize the banks, or of the die-hard conservative, whose image of the New Deal is that of a conspiracy of crackpot professors and grafting politicians.

If Schlesinger's sympathies are clearly with his hero throughout, in this volume he seems less partisan than in the introductory one. He affords little aid and comfort to the anti-New Dealers, but he does permit them to state their cases. He cannot resist quoting the pronouncements of doom uttered at the time by conservatives, and he cannot always escape from the present ("the president of the Student Association at Commonwealth in the spring of 1935 was an Arkansas youth named Orval E. Faubus"). But he seems willing to go where the evidence leads, as in his surprisingly friendly conclusion about Jesse Jones. The text is studded with superb analytical descriptions of people, such as this about the Secretary of Agriculture: "For, as both scientist and mystic, both politician and prophet, both opportunist and idealist, Wallace was split down the middle. This interior division produced not creative tension but a wavering and tormented dissociation which he sought constantly to exorcise by mysticism or to bridge by rhetoric." Schlesinger wonders if FDR was not a better administrator than those who study organization charts have contended. He admits that Roosevelt was exasperating in his techniques, but believes that by keeping his sources of information open, by stirring up his subordinates, and by retaining the decision-making power himself, he may have been the best kind of administrator after all. And, too, Schlesinger thinks that too much may have been made of Roosevelt's skill as a political operator. "His greatest resource lay not in charm of manner or skill at persuasion. It lay in his ability to stir idealism in people's souls."

The book is based upon truly exhaustive research—printed sources (including a full study of the contemporary periodical press), the manuscript collections at Hyde Park and the National Archives, the oral history materials at Columbia, his own interviews, and correspondence with survivors. The documentation is in notes, by section, at the rear of the book, with one reference number in the text

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covering a large number of sources. The publisher has thus been able to keep down the cost and the much-pampered "general reader" will not be distracted by the scholarly apparatus. The index is full and excellent.

Schlesinger has given us by far the best book yet produced on the first phases of the New Deal. Much still remains to be done—Congress deserves a fuller treatment (although the author justly observes that it was anything but the rubber stamp of hallowed tradition), the field of state politics of the era remains mostly unworked, intellectual currents of the period need careful examination, and the social history of the times remains to be written. But the main story of FDR and his efforts to restore the national economy and morale is here developed brilliantly. The result is a major work of recent history.

University of Washington ROBERT E. BURKE

IDEA Y EXPERIENCIA DE AMÉRICA. By *Antonio Gomez Robledo.* [Colección Tierra Firme.] (México, D.F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica. 1958. Pp. 250.)

ACKNOWLEDGING the influence of such writers as Dilthey, Burckhardt, and Huizinga, Antonío Gomez Robledo has written an essay on the history of the idea of America particularly in the international experience of the American peoples. The author believes that from the moment of discovery, the Europeans who settled America—from Plymouth Rock to the Plata estuary—were committed to an idea of America that conceived of the New World as the focus of all the better human aspirations. America to them was the continent of concord as opposed to the European continent of discord; America was the proper dwelling place for liberty, peace, justice, and cooperation—a place where utopian dreams of human perfection had some chance of realization. To Gomez Robledo, this conception of America is an archetypal idea with a Platonic potency for achieving concretion in the historical experience of the peoples of America.

In this book the "juridico-political concretions" of that idea as they have appeared in the evolution of the inter-American system of states are given particular attention. Using the better-known works on Pan-American congresses and the Monroe Doctrine as well as studies of the ideas of leading figures in Hispanic and Anglo-Saxon America, the author traces, from the sixteenth century to the present day, the historical genesis of ideals that found eventual expression in the Organization of American States. In his historical scheme, Hispanic thinkers, like the sixteenth-century Spanish theologian Francisco de Vitoria and the nineteenth-century political leader Simón Bolívar, are much more important as exponents of the idea of America in its idealistic aspects than anyone associated with the history of the Monroe Doctrine, which was based upon conceptions that tended to be isolationist or imperialistic.

Gomez Robledo is well equipped to write such a book by reason of his double vocation as a philosopher and an active participant in juristic committees of the

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Organization of the American States. Much of his treatment of the idea of America is necessarily compressed into the narrow framework of foreign policy statements and diplomatic exchanges at inter-American conferences. Nevertheless, it is refreshing to find a Mexican historian of ideas who is willing to break away from an excessive preoccupation with *la mexicanidad* and to concern himself with some of the fundamental ideas that Mexicans may share with other peoples of the New World simply because they, too, are part of something we may call an American historical experience.

Amherst College EDWIN C. ROZWENC

POLITICAL CHANGE IN LATIN AMERICA: THE EMERGENCE OF THE MIDDLE SECTORS. By *John J. Johnson.* [Stanford Studies in History, Economics, and Political Science, Volume XV.] (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1958. Pp. x, 272. $5.00.)

THIS volume is an important one. It is an obvious and noteworthy exception to a general characterization of our national historiography of Latin America recently made at a meeting convened by the American Council of Learned Societies to evaluate and plan improvements in scholarship on the humanities and social sciences of the area. Then it was agreed that history of the region written in the United States seemed remote and not a little sterile; our historians have given insufficient attention to the study of problems closely relevant to an understanding of contemporary societies of Latin America. This group suggested that one of the greatest needs at present is for the discipline to regain closer touch with the broad growth of historiography in general. Although one book does not make a trend, the present work by Professor Johnson indicates clearly that it is possible to produce a work on Latin America of importance not only to fellow specialists, but of equal interest to other historical colleagues and to related disciplines. Perhaps it is not too much to say that his *Political Change in Latin America* is one of the most important writings of Latin American history to appear in recent years.

Johnson has addressed himself to a major and puzzling problem of central significance. Briefly, his object is to indicate the circumstances under which urban middle groups have risen to political power, and how their influence on national decision making has contributed to the present social and economic directions of five of the major Latin American states. In developing his themes, he necessarily deals with some of the larger issues of political processes, and their very close interconnections with the explosive social and economic growth that constitutes a very real and lasting revolution in all of Latin America—a revolution which is breaking up many of the regnant, almost static patterns of the nineteenth and even early twentieth centuries.

In analyzing the emergence of the "middle sectors"—classes, strata, and segments can be synonymous—Johnson limits his treatment to five principal republics: Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, and Uruguay. Together these constitute

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the bulk of the area, population, gross product, and leadership of Latin America, and set the tone and pace for the smaller places which he wisely omits. He stresses social groups over individuals, a rare break with the traditional biographical, often hagiographical approach to modern Latin America. The particular social group around which his material clusters is the urban middle class, whose attitudes and views on such important issues as urbanization, public education, industrialization, nationalism, state intervention, and related matters tend to lie at the core of most contemporary social and political thought and action in the area.

Johnson traces the broad backgrounds in his first three chapters, bringing the general story from about 1830 to around 1915. If nothing else, these should establish clearly that the tired old clichés of the textbook attempts to "explain" Latin American political and social changes of the nineteenth century need critical reexamination in face of the insights provided here. The case histories of recent times for the five countries follow; they buttress some of the generalizations but also pinpoint the regional, even temporal variations that the emergent middle groups display. Each chapter is a capsule history of the nation over the past quarter century or so, as much from the social and economic sides as from the political. The final chapter balances the losses and gains, the achievements and shortcomings of the groups exercising power, as well as present and foreseeable problems.

This work is more than a speculative essay such as the classic work on a similar theme by Cecil Jane. It is solidly based on a bibliography of better than nine hundred items that range from the standard monographs to fugitive pamphlets which so often reveal real contemporary feelings; the bibliography alone is worth the price of the book, apart from its other merits. Among the latter might be mentioned its readability; in happy contrast to the opaque prose of retreaded doctoral dissertations, an all-too-common feature of Latin American historiography in this country, the style is clear and interesting. It is indexed, but lacks a map.

Doubtless many can and will disagree in detail with Johnson's presentation. Few can successfully challenge the essential correctness of his analysis and synthesis. He has performed a valuable service by advancing important hypotheses and conclusions that perhaps will evoke response, even further investigations, from his more specialized colleagues, while at the same time he has presented a sound panorama of recent Latin American political life and process coherent enough to be compared with similar developments in other parts of the world and for other periods. This seems a major accomplishment.

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Books

General History

AMERIKA IM SPIEGEL DES DEUTSCHEN POLITISCHEN DENKENS: ÄUSSERUNGEN DEUTSCHER STAATSMÄNNER UND STAATSDENKER ÜBER STAAT UND GESELLSCHAFT IN DEN VEREINIGTEN STAATEN VON AMERIKA. Selected and edited by *Ernst Fraenkel.* (Cologne: Westdeutscher Verlag. c. 1959. Pp. 333.) As an anti-Nazi *émigré* and a naturalized American citizen who returned to Germany after the war to teach political science in the Free University of Berlin, Professor Ernst Fraenkel has been in a position to work effectively through the years toward the stated purpose of this book: to clarify the general German concept of the United States and to promote mutual understanding. Here, rather than make a mosaic of his own from innumerable composite parts, he has written a comprehensive introduction of nearly forty pages and thereafter let his selected witnesses speak for themselves. A brief biographical identification of each person quoted is provided. The testimony is as varied as the prejudices of the writers and as their opportunities to observe. Each was likely to see in the "mirror" at least something of himself or of what he hoped to see: General von Steuben in 1779, an affluent future for himself, with pay from the federal government and a handsome gratification from each of the states; Frederick II, a potentially friendly new nation, doubly useful to Prussia as an alienated portion of the British Empire; Carl Schurz, the land of opportunity; Professor Preuss, the working example of one of several conceivable forms of federal republican government; Karl Marx, a fruitful field for an organized labor movement; Hitler, an amorphous mass of people in process of hybridization, militarily negligible unless taken over, organized, and led by its German element. Herder's high praise of Franklin is especially interesting. Moritz Bonn realized in 1930, however, the necessity of paying attention to the United States, whether to follow or to be warned by its example, not only because it was big and powerful, but simply because it was there (weil sie *sind*). Oswald Spengler has been allotted five pages, Alfred Rosenberg less than one, Rauschning's quotations from Hitler one, Hitler one. The clearest understanding of the people of the United States is shown, in the opinion of this reviewer, by Friedrich Meinecke's essay written in November 1918 and by Federal President Theodor Heuss in his address to a joint session of the Congress on June 5, 1958.

University of Wisconsin CHESTER V. EASUM

AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE THROUGH PRUSSIAN EYES: A NEUTRAL VIEW OF THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS OF 1782–1783. SELECTIONS FROM THE PRUSSIAN DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE. Translated and edited by *Marvin L. Brown, Jr.* (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1959. Pp. xvi, 216. $5.00.) This book fills a real need. It contains 248 letters—in entirety or in excerpts—exchanged between Frederick the Great and his ambassadors in London, Paris, The Hague, and Madrid during the peace negotiations designed to end the War for American Independence. Since the *Politische Correspandenz* of Frederick goes only to the spring of 1782,

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which is the point at which these letters begin, the value of the book is obvious, for now we have available in English a record of what Frederick and his ambassadors thought of these negotiations. The letters included are drawn from selected material shipped to this country by the German Foreign Office in 1881 and from Library of Congress photostats of the *Facsimiles from German Archives.* Although in part selections of selections, the letters are sufficiently revealing to satisfy all but the most exacting scholars of the period. The arrangement is chronological, and the explanatory material and notes are helpful, interesting, and never intrusive. Wisely Mr. Brown lets the reader himself largely conclude that, beyond the American grievances, Frederick saw the war as an imperial struggle among the European maritime powers but failed to perceive the possible ideological significance in Europe of American independence.

Wesleyan University WILLARD M. WALLACE

THE ANGLO-AMERICAN CONNECTION IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY. By *Frank Thistlethwaite.* [Studies in American Civilization.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. c. 1959. Pp. viii, 222. $4.50.) In these six essays based upon lectures at the University of Pennsylvania, where he was the first visiting professor of American civilization, a British authority on the United States has explored "the different kinds of communication between Britain and the United States in the early nineteenth century, in trade, investment, and migration, and in political and philanthropic radicalism," "Communication" actually seems too mild a word, given the evidence of extensive interrelationships in political and social reform which Frank Thistlethwaite presents, but perhaps this is only the subtlety of British understatement. It is true that determining the influence of one country's ideas and institutions upon another is not as measurable as, say, diplomatic or military influence, even though in the long run it may well be more significant. Perhaps, therefore, the impossibility of precise measurement accounts for the author's caution. In addition, Thistlethwaite realistically indicates the limitations of his study—the specific groups involved on both sides of the Atlantic, the specific personages who in some areas promoted the Anglo-American connection, opposed it on others, and the fact that the particular relationships which he describes were limited to the pre-Civil War era. After that event both countries moved in such different social and economic directions that old-time associations were shattered. Nevertheless, Thistlethwaite has brought together fascinating information and ideas on the subject of intercultural relations. The conclusion seems obvious—human beings can profit greatly from knowing each other even though their governments are not on familiar terms. At the same time, Thistlethwaite observes that the old ties are important today, remarking that "the most intimate connections beween Englishmen and Americans are still among those who share in some degree the experience of uprooting." Thistlethwaite is a capable writer who reflects on the material he is studying in a manner worthy of emulation.

Chico State College G. D. LILLIBRIDGE

DIE USA IM DEUTSCHEN SCHULBUCH. [Schriftenreihe des internationalen Schulbuchinstituts, Number 3.] (Braunschweig: Albert Limbach Verlag. 1958. Pp. 133.) This monograph is one of a series of publications of the dynamic and highly functional International Textbook Institute in Braunschweig, Germany, headed by Georg Eckert, recipient of the European award for furthering international understanding since World War II. The volume has sections on the treatment of the United States in the textbooks used in German schools in courses teaching the English language, in the literary readers, in geography manuals, as well as in German history instruction. This review is confined

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to the last section, written by Dr. Otto-Ernst Schüddekopf. He finds that German history textbooks and courses of study give much more attention to the United States than before 1941. This, he explains, results partly from the fact that the Germans realize the tragic consequences of their underevaluation of the United States' strength in World Wars I and II. The textbooks selected for examination, from among those available, appear to be representative, but the reader would be interested in knowing the criteria leading to the choice of the particular examples. The reviewer finds the frequent use of the words "die deutschen Lehrbücher" rather disquietingly inclusive. In some instances the terms "fast alle Lehrbücher," "die meisten," and "alle" are used. For example, the statement is made: "Sehr ausführlich und voll Dankes und Anerkennung sprechen alle Lehrbuchverfasser vom Marshall-Plan und dem European Recovery Program." All in all, Schüddekopf finds that German history textbooks offer German youth a good opportunity to acquaint themselves with the history and culture of the United States, to get an understanding of this world power, with whose policy German fate is mutually bound. Though the reviewer may dissent from the view that American culture in terms of American intellectual and spiritual life is given anything like adequate or satisfactory attention in present German history textbooks, he finds this excellent study both informative and encouraging.

Ball State Teachers College ROBERT LA FOLLETTE

DARWIN, WALLACE AND THE THEORY OF NATURAL SELECTION, INCLUDING THE LINNEAN SOCIETY PAPERS. By *Bert James Loewenberg.* (Cambridge, Mass.: Arlington Books; distrib. by Taplinger Publishing Company, New York. 1959. Pp. 97. $5.00.) This attractive little book was published to commemorate the centennial of the joint presentation of the papers of Charles Darwin and Alfred Russel Wallace before the Linnean Society on July 1, 1858. The book contains a reprinting of the papers, with an introductory essay by Bert James Loewenberg that gives the background of the joint presentation and the subsequent relations of Darwin and Wallace. The essay is judicious and does not neglect Wallace, even though his importance rested primarily on spurring Darwin to publish his theory on the origin of species. The mental anxiety experienced by Darwin over the question of priority in discovering the principle of natural selection is pointed out by Loewenberg, and that Darwin was not free of such vanities seems even more apparent in the new evidence found by Loren C. Eiseley on the unacknowledged influence of Edward Blyth on Darwin's formulation of the theory of natural selection (*American Philosophical Society Proceedings,* Feb. 1959). The book's role as a memorial is greatly enhanced by its artistry in design. The limited edition was the recipient of several honors for its excellent format, including selection as one of the fifty books of the year by the American Institute of Graphic Arts and display at the 1958 Word's Fair at Brussels.

University of Florida FRANCIS C. HABER

THE IMPACT OF AIR POWER: NATIONAL SECURITY AND WORLD POLITICS. By *Eugene M. Emme.* (Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand Company. c. 1959. Pp. xiv, 914. $12.50.) Within the memory of living men, the power of nations to exploit the science of flight has emerged as a powerful influence upon the affairs of mankind. This volume attempts to make clear the problems created by the rise of air power as an instrument of national policy and by its influence upon the ways and means of achieving national security. Actually, *The Impact of Air Power* is a comprehensive collection of the authoritative writings on all aspects of air and space power. Drawn from the speeches and writings of distinguished airmen, statesmen, scientists, historians,

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critics, and other scholars, the selections making up this work explore the role of air power from the biplane of the Wright brothers to the baby moon called "Sputnik." There are essays by Winston Churchill, Franklin Roosevelt, Marshall Zhukov, Hermann Göring, James Doolittle, Eddie Rickenbacker, Alexander P. de Seversky, Adolf Galland, Sir John Slessor, and Professor James T. Shotwell, to name only a few. Dr. Emme's commentaries, prefacing each chapter, pull together the many strands of thought and provide continuity on the numerous implications of air power. Each of the 118 selections is also introduced by notes indicating the source and vintage of the selection and giving pertinent biographical information concerning the contributor. After each chapter the editor provides a selected bibliography to lead the reader further into fields introduced. In addition, a very thorough subject index is furnished. The result of almost a decade of research and writing, Emme's volume should prove to be of great value to the professional airman, the statesman, and the military historian. This reviewer is inclined to agree with the publisher's statement: "This book is, in many ways, a pioneering work comparable to Admiral Mahan's classic work on sea power."

University of Arkansas JAMES J. HUDSON

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1940. In five volumes. Volume III, THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH, THE SOVIET UNION, THE NEAR EAST AND AFRICA. [Department of State Publication 6638.] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1958. Pp. vi, 1028. $4.50.) Unlike many books of documents (even those in this same valuable series), much of this volume makes exciting reading. The year 1940 was, of course, a crowded and crucial one, and the documents in this volume cover developments ranging from the perilous position of Britain to the Greco-Italian War, from the rapidly growing hemispheric solidarity of Canada and the United States to the Spanish occupation of Tangier. Among the more interesting communications are Churchill's long telegram to Roosevelt on December 7 (a "statement of the minimum action necessary to the achievement of our common purpose"), Ambassador Kennedy's telegram of May 24 to Hull describing the British situation as "very very grim," and his lengthy telegram of September 27 expressing his "complete lack of confidence in the entire conduct of this war," a number of notes throwing light on the background of the destroyer bases agreement, the exchange between King George VI and President Roosevelt regarding postwar relief and international control of commodities, and Ambassador Steinhardt's informative reports from Soviet Russia. Equally valuable are the memoranda by various key figures of important conversations in Washington, including records of telephone talks with Russian Ambassador Oumansky. In short, the documents in this volume are logically and intelligently selected, and the descriptive footnotes exceedingly helpful.

George Washington University HOWARD MAXWELL MERRIMAN

DIE INTERNATIONALE POLITIK: JAHRBÜCHER DES FORSCHUNGSINSTITUTS DER DEUTSCHEN GESELLSCHAFT FÜR AUSWÄRTIGE POLITIK. DIE INTERNATIONALE POLITIK *1955*: EINE EINFÜHRUNG IN DAS GESCHEHEN DER GEGENWART. Edited by *Arnold Bergsträsser* and *Wilhelm Cornides*. (Munich: Verlag R. Oldenbourg. c. 1958. Pp. 1055.) Having studied this comprehensive volume on current world affairs, the reviewer regrets two things: first, that the annual publication of the admirable *Survey on International Affairs*, edited by Toynbee—possibly his most valuable achievement, and evidently the model for the volume under discussion—was stopped for a time after 1938, thus leaving a regrettable gap; second, that we do not yet have the volumes 1956–1958 of the present publication. Of the two editors of the 1955

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volume (who simultaneously are contributors), Bergsträsser, though he for years taught history in this country, and though he has many good points, is too deeply steeped in German romanticism to display the clarity of style and thought cherished in the West; while the gifted Wilhelm von Cornides, Jr., who shows a most remarkable knowledge of the complicated game of world affairs, seems to overrate the importance, usefulness, and stamina of the various European organizations—civilian and especially military—devised for fencing off the USSR. The main question—whether this new Europe is threatened not only from the outside but also from within—is of course one which in a book written by Germans for Germans cannot well be considered. Thus let us hope that Cornides will not find himself one day in the position of that earlier leader of German political Catholicism Franz Lieber, who, having been outsmarted by the German imperialists bent on building a big navy, ruefully referred to himself as "der blamierte Europäer." Among the best contributions in this tremendously instructive and most carefully prepared volume are the studies by the staff members of the *Forschungsinstitut der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik*—an organization that appears to resemble our Council of Foreign Relations, inasmuch as it is sponsored by big business. The social structure and the composition of the staff of such an organization necessarily involve certain limitations of outlook, but the contributors have made honest efforts to be objective. While they have not fulfilled their program of giving an adequate social analysis —there is, for instance, no treatise on the economics of the arms race—and while they tend to overestimate NATO and to be not quite fair toward its critics—to rate the United States publicist James Warburg simply as anti-German is woefully inadequate —they have succeeded in giving fair pictures of the part of the world that they oppose: the USSR, "Red China," and the satellite nations. The rich material collected by their institute gives the many studies of Kindermann—specialist on the United States and the Far East—and of Gasteyger—expert on the Soviet bloc—a solid foundation. South Asia and India are adequately handled by Emanuel Sarkisyanz, who shows more understanding of the social aspect of current world politics than do his colleagues. Valuable studies by Steppat on the Islamic world and by Schulz-Weidner on Africa furnish the reader with the tremendous amount of material required for understanding the vast problems involved. The bases for all these studies are the institute's carefully kept files of newspaper clippings and other material. Being the basic volume of a series, planned to cover each calendar year, the present work obviously exceeds those to follow in scope and size. Comparing it with earlier compendia of this type, one cannot suppress a feeling of deep anxiety both about the politics of the atomic age it pictures and about the nonchalant way in which the many young men and women who wrote it discuss the moves in this chess game of deadliest threats. They belong to the generations born to "live with the bomb" and one can only hope that by some unexpected twist in the evolution discussed in their book they will be permitted to die without it.

Washington, D. C. GEORGE W. F. HALLGARTEN

Ancient and Medieval History

ROMAN POLITICAL IDEAS AND PRACTICE. By *F. E. Adcock*. [Jerome Lecture, Sixth Series.] (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. c. 1959. Pp. vi, 120. $3.75.) In this series of lectures Professor Adcock traces the influence of certain basic Roman political ideas in their practical application to political problems and also the modifications that these ideas themselves suffered under the pressure of political forces. The first lecture is devoted to an exposition of the ideas in question, specifically *auctoritas*,

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dignitas, libertas, fides, religio, and *imperium.* These concepts the author characterizes as "really ingrained habits of mind and character, generally conservative but capable of change and even of innovation." They were the products of an essentially peasant community and had taken firm shape before the end of the early Roman monarchy. The five lectures that follow reveal in chronological order the influence of these ideas in the period of the growth of the Republic, to 287 B.C.; the age of senatorial leadership, 287–133 B.C.; the age of the revolution, 133–30 B.C.; the Principate of Augustus, 30 B.C–A.D. 14; and the later Principate until the inception of the Dominate under Septimius Severus, A.D. 14–193. No short review can discuss adequately the stimulating content of this little volume. Clear and logical in thought and delightfully written, the lectures are characterized by that "sturdy common-sense" which the author attributes to the Romans themselves. As the expression of the mature thinking of one of the greatest living interpreters of Roman history, this work deserves to be read and can be appreciated not only by specialists in the field but by all who are interested in gaining a better understanding of Roman political thought in action.

Ann Arbor, Michigan A. E. R. Boak

ELS PRIMERS COMTES CATALANS. By *Ramon d'Abadal i de Vinyals.* [Biografies Catalanes, Volume I.] (Barcelona: Editorial Teide. 1958. Pp. xix, 368. 80 pesetas.) This substantial work by the leading authority on early Catalan history represents the general synthesis toward which his numerous special studies have long pointed. Abadal here clarifies in masterly fashion the obscure and highly controversial conditions under which Carolingian Catalonia evolved in the ninth and tenth centuries on the rim of Frankish Europe in the form of the counties of Ampurias, Roussillon, Urgel, Cerdagne, Barcelona, Gerona, and Besalú. The first half of the book chronicles in expertly documented detail the story of the various Catalan comital families—their common descent from the Carolingian counts of Carcassonne, their shifting dynastic interrelationships, and their progress toward political amalgamation, notably in the time of the famous Count Guifred *el Pilós* of Barcelona, of whose work as unifier and colonizer we are given a notably full and fresh account, free from current exaggerations. In the book's second half Abadal traces at length the slow stages by which the Catalan counties severed their political ties with Carolingian and early Capetian France, to become by the commencement of the eleventh century independent, sovereign states. Here he rightly rejects Calmette's emphasis upon 865 as Catalonia's supposed birth year, as well as the widely held doctrine of an anti-Carolingian separatism rooted in the Visigothic past. The real motivating forces were in fact ultra-Pyrenean royal disintegration, feudal particularism, Catalan comital ambitions, and the necessities of anti-Muslim defense. Particularly valuable pages are devoted to Catalan relations with southern France, Muslim Spain, and the papacy; to frontier colonization; and to the establishment of episcopal and monastic centers. Helpful maps and genealogical tables are provided throughout. If, as the author remarks, during the first half of the present century the French historian Calmette "amb justos i ben guanyats títols exercí . . . una mena de dictadura sobre la primitiva història catalana," this brilliant volume makes it certain that a new master has succeeded the old and that Abadal's researches have illumined as never before the tangled initial centuries of medieval Catalonia.

University of Virginia C. J. Bishko

LE FILM DE L'HISTOIRE MÉDIÉVALE EN FRANCE, 843–1328. By *Robert Latouche.* ([Paris]: Arthaud. c. 1959. Pp. 412.) M. Latouche has collected and translated into modern French a small group of extracts from contemporary sources concerning

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each of thirty subjects from the history of France between the years 843 and 1328. The subjects and individual extracts are prefaced by brief introductions. In general the subjects are chosen for their picturesqueness rather than for their historical significance, and most of the passages are well known to students of medieval France. The introductions to subjects and extracts are excellent in content, but Latouche has an unfortunate tendency to talk down to his readers. An amateur in medieval history who reads French easily can gain from the text of this book an idea of the nature of the sources on which our knowledge of medieval France is based. There is little there for the scholar. The illustrations are on an entirely different level and can only be described as magnificent. They number nearly four hundred, and the majority are photographs of contemporary works of art. While a few old favorites such as parts of the Bayeaux tapestry are included, most of them are new to this reviewer. They illuminate many phases of medieval civilization. Anyone interested in medieval France will find that the illustrations amply justify the book and make it a valuable addition to his library.

Johns Hopkins University SIDNEY PAINTER

LE CARTULAIRE DE MARCIGNY-SUR-LOIRE (1045–1144): ESSAI DE RECONSTITUTION D'UN MANUSCRIT DISPARU. By *Jean Richard*. [Anelecta Burgundica.] (Dijon: Société des Analecta Burgundica. 1957. Pp. xxiv, 259.) The importance of Cluny in France and Spain needs no elaboration. Consequently, the reconstruction of the cartulary of the Cluniac priory of Marcigny-sur-Loire is a welcome contribution to medieval scholarship. By combining several extant manuscripts the author judiciously reconstructs the lost cartulary of the priory from its foundation in the mid-eleventh century to 1144. The first 276 entries are carefully summarized and reveal the extent of the holdings of the priory as well as many legal practices of the region. Charters 277–307 are presented but not identified, and the concluding items include "Les Censiers de Marcigny." The introduction, the index of names and matter, and biographical sketches with useful genealogical tables add to the book. This work emphasizes the scholarly contributions of the specialist in making printed materials available, and in particular calls to mind the important manuscripts, in addition to his general works, which Professor Richard has edited and published. The reader will find of special interest the role of women in the priory and in land transactions, the wide influence of the house, legal terminology, and the religious devotion of the age. Like many other cartularies, that of Marcigny-sur-Loire gives added understanding of economic, legal, religious, and domestic affairs, aspects which have often been lost in theory and oversimplification of the age.

Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas JOHN HUGH HILL

EUROPEAN ARMOUR *CIRCA* 1066 TO *CIRCA* 1700. By *Claude Blair*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1959. Pp. 248. $7.00.) It is difficult to determine at what point to begin describing the merits of this excellent volume. Characterized by the author as a textbook, it is, more accurately speaking, a handbook that traces in detail the evolution of armor from the mid-eleventh to the end of the seventeenth century, when protective clothing was all but abandoned save for ceremonial occasions. Meticulous research is apparent in the compilation of this book. Mr. Blair has seen almost all of the important armorial collections, both public and private, in Europe; he has corresponded with curators of significant collections on this side of the Atlantic. Since very few specimens of armor antedating the fourteenth century have survived, to fill in the gaps he has had recourse to such contemporary sources as manuscript illuminations, seals, effigies, sculpture, and to such unique productions as the Bayeux tapestry.

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One can well believe that little which could contribute to our knowledge of armor has escaped the author's attention. The terminology applied to various parts of the harness is admittedly the most confusing aspect of the study, but Blair has clarified the problem with considerable success by using contemporary terms wherever possible. The use of bold-faced type for technical terms is of considerable assistance to the reader in identifying the component parts of an armor. The author has organized his material logically by periods and by armor-producing centers within periods. This has the advantage of enabling the reader to follow readily armorial developments either chronologically or geographically. Finally, the format of the book contributes greatly to its usefulness. The illustrations are well chosen and excellently reproduced; text references to specific illustrations are most helpful to the reader. A useful bibliography is appended, and an index facilitates reference to specific items. This, the first general survey of European armor to appear in English in half a century, will certainly become a standard work of reference for all those interested in the military and technological history of the Middle Ages and the early modern period.

Woman's College, University of North Carolina JOHN BEELER

THE JEWS OF PERPIGNAN IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY: AN ECONOMIC STUDY BASED ON NOTARIAL RECORDS. By *Richard W. Emery.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1959. Pp. viii, 202. $4.50.) This is a minutely detailed monograph based on seventeen notarial registers of Perpignan for the years 1261–1287. The data are exhaustively interpreted and analyzed—literally squeezed dry. Many pertinent questions are addressed to the sources and statistical-quantitative answers are elicited from them. Inference and hypothesis are only rarely introduced—and then with utmost caution. The value of this hitherto neglected type of documentary material for the economic history of the Jews in southern France lies in its natural heterogeneity and diversification. All types of acts, ranging widely over the areas of medieval economic endeavor, are represented. By virtue of the representative quality of his material, Professor Emery is able to qualify the conclusions of Gustave Saige's more comprehensive, well-documented work (*Les Juifs du Languedoc antérieurement au* XIV^e^ *siècle*) as well as Jean Regne's meticulous study of Narbonne Jews. Saige and Regne, relying almost exclusively upon "acts concerning real property," inadvertently left the misleading impression that the economic concerns of Languedocian Jews centered on "land and houses and rent charges." The uniqueness of this situation for medieval Jewry was boldly underscored. It is Emery's thesis that these concerns were decidedly insignificant in comparison with moneylending—the major economic enterprise of medieval Jews, at least from the thirteenth century onward. In other words, he has rehabilitated the staple view and unqualifiedly applied it to the Jews of Perpignan by pointing up the "virtual exclusion of all other economic activities" (trade, crafts, professions). The significance of this in relation to the whole of Jewish economic history—the compulsory restriction and progressive shrinkage of the spheres of economic enterprise—is tangentially treated in the final chapter. The author refrains from introducing "morally descriptive terms" on the grounds of irrelevance. He does, however, reject the meaningless stereotype of the "avaricious, deceitful" moneylender. Additional source material, notably Regne's catalogue of the acts of Aragonese kings concerning Jews, is judiciously used. Had the author had access to contemporary Hebrew sources, especially legal commentaries and *responsa,* he would have been in a position to round out his presentation even more, for Jewish history can properly be investigated only by combining these two types of source material.

Harvard University ISADORE TWERSKY

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DE RAADKAMER VAN DE HERTOG VAN BOURGONDIË TE MAASTRICHT (1473–1477). By *Pieter Gorissen.* [Publications de l'Université Lovanium de Léopoldville, Number 5.] (Louvain: Éditions E. Nauwelaerts. 1959. Pp. 346. 325 fr. B.) The numerous councils and *chambres* that characterized fifteenth-century Burgundian government in the Low Countries have, because of much duplication and overlapping of authority and function, always constituted a puzzle for historians. One piece of the puzzle, however, has now been clearly delineated. Pieter Gorissen, working largely from unpublished financial and administrative records, has established that there was a regional council with headquarters at Maastricht between 1473 and 1477, and that this council supervised Burgundian government in the lands of Limbourg, the Pays d'Outre-Meuse, the county of Looz, and the principality of Liège. The council at Maastricht was created by Guy de Brimeu, Lord of Humbercourt and lieutenant of Charles the Rash. It regularly consisted of eight councilors assisted by a large staff of functionaries, and it served as an administrative center and a high court of justice for the southeastern provinces of the Low Countries. Primarily a court of appeal, the council adjudicated routine criminal and civil cases and upheld ducal rights. Grave infractions, however, were reserved for the great ducal council or for the parlement at Malines. The administrative tasks of the council lay in conducting diplomatic relations with the German lands just to the east, in promulgating and implementing ducal ordinances, in providing a regional security and espionage system, and in preserving records. During its short existence the council of Maastricht definitely lessened the authority of the administrative organs of neighboring Brabant, Guelders, and Namur. It was apparently never popular with the inhabitants of Maastricht and Liège and, after the death of Charles the Rash in 1477, ceased to function. Gorissen's task has largely been to edit pertinent financial, administrative, and judicial records, which provide a fine commentary on Burgundian government and show how far the dukes had progressed in their attempt to forge a well-ordered and centralized government in the Low Countries. This excellent book leads one to speculate on what might have been the political future of the Burgundian "middle state" had not Charles the Rash ended a century's work on the field of Nancy.

University of California, Berkeley BRYCE LYON

Modern History

BRITISH EMPIRE, COMMONWEALTH, AND IRELAND

JOHN MAITLAND OF THIRLESTANE AND THE FOUNDATION OF THE STEWART DESPOTISM IN SCOTLAND. By *Maurice Lee, Jr.* [Princeton Studies in History, Number 11.] (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1959. Pp. xi, 314. $6.00.) Professor Lee has demonstrated the importance of John Maitland of Thirlestane, brother of Queen Mary's secretary, in extending royal power in Scotland under James VI. The author claims that in 1585, a year after Maitland became secretary, the "power and prestige of the Scottish crown was at a low ebb. . . . The measure of his achievement was its vastly enhanced authority in 1595, the year of his death." Maitland realized that the chief obstacle to effective royal government was the power of the leading aristocrats. The detailed description of this toadstool of a knight's attack on the cedars of the ancient Scottish nobility, to borrow an expression from the worst of the noble hooligans, is the most original portion of this book. In his chapter on the Parliament of 1587 Lee shows Maitland attempting to solve the problems of aristocratic lawlessness and the poverty of the crown as well as providing the King, by virtue of the act

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of annexation, with a means of creating a loyal civil service. At the same time Maitland followed a conciliatory policy toward the Kirk, still smarting under the Black Acts, and attempted to draw the crown and the lairds closer together. He strove, moreover, to maintain an alliance with England, albeit one which did not treat Scotland as a dependent state. Maitland was not uniformly successful; the financial problem was not solved, royal authority remained weak in the Highlands, the strength of the nobles was limited, not destroyed, while James was not permanently converted to a moderate Kirk policy. But the failure of Huntly and Bothwell and the gradual development of a loyal administration headed by the "ordinary and daily" council both testify to Maitland's skill and partial success. This discussion of Maitland's career is an important contribution to understanding James VI's achievements. In addition, Lee's first chapter is a lucid introduction to late sixteenth-century Scotland, and his use of unpublished sources has made his reexamination of Maitland all the more valuable.

University of Mississippi CHARLES L. HAMILTON

THE STUARTS: A STUDY IN ENGLISH KINGSHIP. By *J. P. Kenyon.* (New York: Macmillan Company. 1959. Pp. 240. $5.00.) Dominated by personalities and frequently brilliantly written, Dr. Kenyon's little book will content neither the scholar nor the general reader, although both will be pleased with the sound and often scintillating sketches of the Stuart sovereigns. Details of the reigns are frequently unsatisfactory. Misleading generalities and incorrect statements of fact, particularly during the rule of the first two Stuarts, spoil the book's historical value. Leading events telescoped into a sentence and names introduced without space to fit them into the historical scene lead to misunderstandings and confusion. There are a few footnotes of reference at the bottom of an occasional page, but the majority of the numerous quotations are given without any citations at all. On the other hand, many attractive illustrations display the features of Stuart rulers, their spouses, children, and mistresses. And at the end of the book a section headed "Suggestions for Further Reading," not adequate for the scholar, goes far beyond the needs of the average reader. Kenyon writes beautifully at times, but at other times he tries too hard and overloads his style or simplifies his sentences to the point of obscurity. Historically he is far sounder in his own period, the Restoration, than in the time of the early Stuarts. To be sure, the pictures he presents of James I and Charles I are excellent. But when it comes to the history of the two reigns and their leading personalities, Kenyon seems to have an ax to grind. He has a good deal to say about Sir John Eliot and the Earl of Strafford; for different reasons he dislikes them. In portraying these two men his language is too strong, his colors too bright and too garish, and his prejudices blind him to historical truth. I also get the feeling that Kenyon has no taste for constitutional history. He says as little as possible about it in a century renowned for its great constitutional struggle. There is no reason whatsoever why this young scholar of repute (see his excellent *Robert Spencer, Earl of Sunderland,* [London, 1958]) should sneer at the Bill of Rights. It is unfortunate that the reader is introduced to a work of some ability through a badly organized, confused, and prejudiced opening chapter, "Tudor Sunset." Kenyon jumps back and forth from the sixteenth to the seventeenth century, fills his pages with many blacks and a few grays, and destroys every shred of glory in the aging "Gloriana." It is a bit too much.

New York University HAROLD HULME

SAINTS IN ARMS: PURITANISM AND DEMOCRACY IN CROMWELL'S ARMY. By *Leo F. Solt.* [Stanford Studies in History, Economics, and Political Science,

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Volume XVIII.] (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1959. Pp. 150. $4.00.) The New Model Army had more political intelligence than any other army in history and much has been written about the ideas that agitated its spokesmen. Leo Solt has written an interesting essay which has some new and original things to say—not an easy accomplishment in so well-worked a field. Going carefully over the writings of the more radical, Antinomian chaplains of the New Model, asking pertinent questions, he has come to the conclusion that they were a much less liberal and democratic lot than an older generation of scholars, searching the Puritan tradition for the roots of modern political ideas, had supposed. The chaplains, for example, preferred government by good men (a dictatorship of the praying classes) to government by law. The chaplains preached the equality of all believers in Christ, but this did not lead them, by analogy, to assert the equality of all men before the law: "all believers in Christ" excluded the nonelect and by exact analogy the sphere of politics came out as the godly rulers and the ungodly ruled. Solt's arguments are subtle, and some of the dichotomies he sets up for classifying his chaplains are difficult to keep in mind as one reads. A serious omission, I think, in a work that is basically a study of the thought of the New Model chaplains, is any statement of how many chaplains there were and what relation the half-dozen or so men examined here had to the whole group. Finally, Solt takes a whack at the older Marxist interpretations, using Petegorsky as his target. He makes some hits but ends with the cliché so congenial to this age of religiosity, that the chaplains' ideas of social justice sprang from their theology. But the historian, surely, must go on to ask why they adopted that particular theology rather than one of the other available alternatives. If the Marxists' answer was unsatisfactory, at least they asked the question. When a subject has been so much studied, the author faces the dilemma of whether to quote from the original sources or from the secondary authorities who have quoted the same passages so often before. I have the feeling that Solt has not given quite enough credit to his predecessors, but since I am one of them, the presumption is that my feeling is wrong. But I have no doubt that this is a thoughtful, interpretive essay, which shows us new ways of looking at an important part of our history.

Rutgers University RICHARD SCHLATTER

FROM SHELDON TO SECKER: ASPECTS OF ENGLISH CHURCH HISTORY, 1660–1768. By *Norman Sykes*. [The Ford Lectures delivered in the University of Oxford in Hilary Term, 1958.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1959. Pp. x, 237. $6.50.) Although the invitation to deliver the Ford lectures caught Dean Sykes, as he confesses, with his notebook and head alike bare, he has nonetheless lighted a period often dismissed as intolerant during the first half and indifferent during the second. He has given unity to his sketch by starting with the "rebuilding of Sion" and stopping with Archbishop Secker's acceptance of the church as a department of the state and withal attempting to organize it into an effective institution within such limits. In one sense the story is one of failure—the failure, despite the efforts of the Caroline divines and later of Bishop Gibson, to realize the *societas perfectas* or to achieve vital leadership in the midst of social revolution. In another sense, however, the story is quite the reverse. Numerous churchmen did seek to create spiritual and ecclesiastical vitality, and their lack of success must be weighed not less in the powerful dissident secessions than in the obvious humdrum character of the Hanoverian church. After all, William Law, John Wesley, and Theophilus Lindsay must be remembered along with timeservers. Churchman as well as historian, the author has dealt sympathetically and knowledgeably with such ecclesiastics as Sancroft, Wake, and Gibson, with such astounding scholars as Bull and Pearson, and with such varied manifestations of ecumenism as the struggle for

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comprehension within England and the approaches to the leaders of the Gallican church and of the foreign reformed bodies. Here again was failure, but here again was evidence of spiritual vitality. Sykes has supplied informing insights throughout into both personalities and problems, derived from important manuscript sources and a diversity of printed materials. The most conspicuous gap here is the pamphlet literature, but any explorer of that jungle must appreciate the impossibility of using it in moderation. These lectures do not violate the Anglican tradition.

University of Missouri CHARLES F. MULLETT

FEAR GOD AND DREAD NOUGHT: THE CORRESPONDENCE OF ADMIRAL OF THE FLEET LORD FISHER OF KILVERSTONE. Volume III, RESTORATION, ABDICATION, AND LAST YEARS, 1914–1920. Selected and edited by *Arthur J. Marder.* (London: Jonathan Cape. 1959. Pp. 661. 50*s.*) This concluding volume of the letters of Jackie Fisher contains side lights on various phases of the period's history. Fisher's interests were not confined to naval matters. On the recommendation of Winston Churchill, Fisher was recalled from retirement at seventy-four and on October 29, 1914, again became Chief of the Naval Staff. He left the Admiralty on May 17, 1915. The Prime Minister and Mr. Reginald McKenna tried to prevent Fisher's resignation. McKenna was a friend, and had been First Lord of the Admiralty, 1908–1910, while Fisher had been in power before. To McKenna, Fisher wrote on May 16 concerning Churchill, that "he will be thinking of the military and not the naval side—*he never has done otherwise.* His heart is ashore, not afloat!" The editor writes in the preface, "It is with deep regret that I find it impossible to repeat the proud assurance made in Volumes I and II that there have been no 'judicious omissions.'"

Naval Historical Foundation JOHN B. HEFFERNAN

THE "OFFICE": THE STORY OF THE BRITISH FOREIGN OFFICE, 1919–1951. By *John Connell.* (New York: St Martin's Press. c. 1958. Pp. 367. $5.75.) Mr. John Connell is the pen name sometimes used by John Henry Robertson, a British journalist who has written on a variety of subjects. In this work, Connell, a member of the Press Gallery of the House of Commons since 1935, has attempted "the story of the Foreign Office" during the period from 1919 to 1951. The author of some half-dozen novels, Connell seems to be most interested in personalities, and the present work is largely a string of biographical sketches of the Foreign Secretaries and their chief aides. Relying on personal recollections and a bibliography of almost fifty volumes—though there are no footnotes and few acknowledgments to his sources—he tells a well-known story, and offers neither scandals nor secrets, official or otherwise. Connell does not hesitate, however, to advance his own views. His admiration for Ernest Bevin is enormous; his dislike for All Souls' College and *The Times,* intense. (Connell is from Balliol and on the staff of *The Evening News.*) If the word "journalism" is to be used as a term of denigration, then Connell's book is "competent journalism." It will reinforce the view that "journalistic" and "profound" are antonyms. The book is surfeited with clichés, both of expression and thought, which tend to befog the issues and hamper insight and understanding. For the "average newspaper reader," it will serve to recall some of the events and personalities of his time. The historian, or anyone with a serious interest in the British Foreign Office, in British foreign policy and the chief figures who made or administered it, will have to look elsewhere.

Brooklyn College SAMUEL J. HURWITZ

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DOCUMENTS ON BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY, 1919–1939. First Series, Volume VIII, 1920. Edited by *Rohan Butler* and *J. P. T. Bury*. (London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1958. Pp. xxxi, 891. $14.77 postpaid.) This volume, together with its companion piece, Volume VII, brings us the British minutes of the numerous international conferences and conversations on high policy held in that unsettled year of 1920. We visit San Remo (April 18–26); Hythe (May 15–16, June 20, and August 8–9); Boulogne (June 21–22 and July 27–28); Brussels (July 2–3); Spa (July 5–16); Lucerne (August 22–23); and finally London for its second conference of the year (November 26–December 4). One additional chapter is devoted to conversations between Lloyd George and various foreign statesmen in London in the autumn of 1920; one treats with British efforts for a Russo-Polish truce; and three record the conversations in London between British ministers and a Soviet Russian trade delegation headed by M. Krassin. As Professor Butler's lucid introduction points out, these frequent smaller conferences following hard on the Peace of Paris are reminiscent of those held after the settlements of Utrecht and Vienna, and they underline the propensity of Lloyd George, always supremely self-confident in the center of the stage, for conducting business in this manner. The principal problems treated arose from the almost simultaneous dissolution of three great empires, the German, Russian, and Turkish; the portents were grave. In the background one could hear the muffled roar of guns on the Vistula, but even more forbidding for the future was the clear delineation of the breach already developing between an adamant France and a more accommodating Britain vis à vis Germany. Here is a catalogue of many of the vexing issues that have bedeviled British foreign policy in our time: Iraq, Palestine, Mosul oil, Egypt and the Sudan, Turkey and the road to Chanak, Cyprus, Greece, the Little Entente, Poland, Russia, and always Germany and the Anglo-French tension engendered thereby. This beautifully edited volume with its sweeping range captures the grim excitement of an enormously troubled and significant year.

Newcomb College, Tulane University JOHN R. HUBBARD

THREE CENTURIES AND THE ISLAND: A HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF SETTLEMENT AND AGRICULTURE IN PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND, CANADA. By *Andrew Hill Clark*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. c. 1959. Pp. xiii, 287. $10.00.) This book is a labor of love, performed with fidelity, precision, and grace. It is, in addition, a work of intense research which makes heavy contributions to both geographical and historical knowledge. The author, born in Manitoba of Prince Edward Island stock and now professor of geography at the University of Wisconsin, envisages this treatise as part of a larger whole, his lifetime study of the processes of transfer and settlement of people from northwest Europe overseas from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries. It follows on his *Invasion of New Zealand by People, Plants and Animals* (1949) and his contribution to the Thomas volume *Man's Role in Changing the Face of the Earth* (1956); the author plans to follow it with further studies, of Nova Scotia and Australia and South Africa. The first version of the present work was delivered as the University of London Lectures in Geography for 1953–1954. The book is essentially a study of the whole demographic and economic history of the smallest and most densely populated of Canada's provinces, the former Île St. Jean, from the time of the first French settlements down to the present decade. The population of the island has been culturally of an extreme diversity, ranging from Palatine Germans through Acadian French to Gaelic-speaking Highlanders. The connection of the island with great events has been small. The interest lies in seeing the varying patterns of agriculture which the different groups of settlers have imposed on the relatively

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homogeneous topography of the island. The core of the book is the distributional studies, exhibited in 155 lucid and handsome maps and fifteen tables.

University of California, Riverside ARTHUR C. TURNER

EUROPEAN POLITICS IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA. By *Colin Leys.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1959. Pp. xi, 323. $6.75.) Recent events in the Central African Federation indicate that it is something less than another "Eden, demi-paradise," standing in rectitude alongside the wicked Union of South Africa. What this book reveals is that the "partnership" of the Federation, which to the author is only Southern Rhodesia writ large, is as meaningless in its way as apartheid. What the Union does openly, the tightly knit European minority of Southern Rhodesia has achieved subtly in land distribution, laws, and a legalized industrial color bar. The language is English. "African" may sound better than "native," and "predominance" perhaps is less offensive than "baaskap," but the only difference this reviewer can see between the Union and Rhodesian political scenes is that the opposition parties also reverse their roles between directness and subtlety. The author has done a real service in showing the white oligarchic control of Southern Rhodesia and the Federation (and there are frequent excursions into the latter). After reading the very closely reasoned chapter on the color-blind franchises in terms of their actual functioning, this reviewer now looks with more favor than he once did upon the Union's communal representation, even if by Europeans, of non-European groups. Appendixes on Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland make European minority dominance even more obvious. The writer happily makes few predictions and fewer recommendations. To this reviewer some of the latter appear contradictory. Having detailed the oligarchic nature of Rhodesian *politifs* and indicated that the present franchises are as far as Europeans will go, he flatly declares that the best hope for Europeans is to admit Africans freely to the franchise—although an appendix makes clear that the Dominion party by demanding European supremacy in all fields nearly won the 1958 Southern Rhodesia elections. The recommendation that in the 1960 conference on full Dominion status for the Federation that Britain consider the unwillingness of whites to extend further political rights to Africans seems unreal after the author has previously shown and flatly stated that British control over the Federation has reached an end. The usage of the phrase "one-party system" to indicate that major parties have the same orientation does not seem particularly valid, when in the British tradition major parties either have the same basic orientation or cease to be major. These criticisms, however, cannot detract from the value of the book in revealing the realities of "partnership." This is to raise the infinitely larger question, which it was not the author's function to meet—the position of all Europeans in Africa. The total impression from this book is that the nineteenth-century prophecy of Trollope is even more valid for the mid-twentieth century.

University of Southern California COLIN RHYS LOVELL

EUROPE

THE FRENCH RELIGIOUS WARS IN ENGLISH POLITICAL THOUGHT. By *J. H. M. Salmon.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1959. Pp. vii, 202. $4.00.) Mr. Salmon has shown conclusively the relevance of the French religious wars to the English scene. He shows how both royalists and parliamentarians regarded Bodin as their friend and how the *Vindicia* was used by English political theory throughout the century. He is also concerned with the intermediaries who funneled some of this French thought into England: Althusius, Arnisaeus, and Grotius. Only in one respect is the

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title of the book misleading: it is Huguenot political thought that is Salmon's principal concern and only to a much lesser extent that of the Catholics. This Huguenot thought he traces from the Elizabethan reception to the end of the century. Salmon believes that French political thought remained dormant in England during the first decades of the century (with the exception of the Oath of Allegiance controversy) and that its importance was only fully revealed by the Civil War. He bases this upon the cult of the immemorial constitution and the supremacy of ancient law as the expression of parliamentary opposition to the king before the Civil War. Sir Edward Coke is, quite rightly, cited as the example of this outlook, and here, certainly, Bodin's ideas are of only minor relevance. Yet there is no necessary contradiction between arguments couched in terms of ancient law and the struggle for power in terms of a search for sovereignty. Ancient law was indeed often clarified in such terms, and if there is Sir Edward Coke, there is also James Whitelocke, who did think in terms of a struggle for power and used Bodin accordingly. Moreover, by stressing Parliament, the book does not come to terms with the use made of Bodin by the royalists in this period. The author seems to base his case upon a conventional interpretation of the constitutional struggle which he accepts and which seems close to that Whig interpretation which is otherwise rejected. This may have blinded Salmon to the actual importance of French thought in the prerevolutionary period. For all this, the author's conclusions are judiciously stated and his book represents a most important contribution to the history of political thought.

University of Wisconsin GEORGE L. MOSSE

LES RENAISSANCES FINANCIÈRES DE LA FRANCE DE SAINT LOUIS À POINCARÉ. By *Robert Lacour-Gayet.* ([Paris]: Librairie Hachette. c. 1959. Pp. 252. 800 fr.) It is not easy to write a relaxed, amusing, and informative book when the subject is the history of public finance. Robert Lacour-Gayet has succeeded rather well. He has chosen to sketch some of the episodes when the financial situation in France took a sharp turn for the better. We are told that "ordre et économie" saved the day in the time of St. Louis, Charles V, and Sully; and we are given some idea of the important financial work of Colbert, Cardinal Fleury, Napoleon, Thiers, and Poincaré. The moral is hammered home at every opportunity—financial "sanity" is most often the work of men far from expert in financial "inventions," but rather possessed of dependable moral characteristics so that the country may rally behind them (perhaps like those in the Fifth Republic?); and our eyes should always be fastened on balancing the budget, lowering taxes, and keeping our money as "hard" as possible. The flyer sent along with this little book proudly proclaims that the price is 800 fr. or eight "francs lourds," and adds that it is the first book to be priced in the new currency.

University of Pennsylvania MARTIN WOLFE

BOURGEOIS ET PAYSANS AU XVII[e] SIÈCLE: RECHERCHE SUR LE RÔLE DES BOURGEOIS PARISIENS DANS LA VIE AGRICOLE AU SUD DE PARIS AU XVII[e] SIÈCLE. By *Marc Venard.* [École pratique des hautes études, VI[e] section. Centre de recherches historiques. Les hommes et la terre, Number 3.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1957. Pp. 126.) Although it has long been recognized that bourgeois ownership of rural landed properties has exercised profound influence upon French agrarian economics, the extact nature of that influence has been the subject of only a limited number of intensive studies. The present volume provides a brief but well-documented analysis of the impact of bourgeois ownership, control, and exploitation upon the economy of the region immediately south of Paris during the seventeenth

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century. Because of its proximity to the French capital and the richness of surviving documentation in certain parishes, this area is unusually appropriate for the investigation of urban influences in French agricultural economics, and the author's findings are correspondingly valuable. In a series of short, concise chapters, the book presents a vivid picture of the economic practices and human contacts which together constituted a very complex system of relationships. The author shows how various categories of Parisians increasingly invested in land, chiefly for economic gain rather than social status, and how the role of the urban bourgeoisie as rural bankers gave them decisive advantages in extending their landed properties. He discusses the consolidation of many small parcels of land into larger holdings, methods of farm management, the choice of tenants, and systems of accounting. Also, it is shown that the elite among the agrarian labor force consisted of landless men whose wealth lay in agricultural implements and beasts of burden, and who sought leases at the best available figures. In prosperous times the system benefited owner and tenant alike, but its precariousness is amply demonstrated by the widespread dislocation and suffering that appeared momentarily during the *Fronde* and more extensively in the last decades of the century when the price of leases remained firm but that of wheat fell disastrously. Thus the book presents valuable information concerning the latent weaknesses at the foundations of French society during the seventeenth century, when the tensions within the prevailing economic system were not subject to amelioration by any genuine agricultural progress.

Brown University WILLIAM F. CHURCH

A DIDEROT PICTORIAL ENCYCLOPEDIA OF TRADES AND INDUSTRY: MANUFACTURING AND THE TECHNICAL ARTS IN PLATES SELECTED FROM "L'ENCYCLOPÉDIE, OU DICTIONNAIRE RAISONNÉ DES SCIENCES, DES ARTS ET DES MÉTIERS" OF DENIS DIDEROT. In two volumes. By *Denis Diderot.* Edited with introduction and notes by *Charles Coulston Gillispie.* (New York: Dover Publications. c. 1959. Pp. xxx, 485 plates. $18.50 the set.) With these huge and expensive two volumes filled with 485 selected plates and superb explanatory notes, Charles C. Gillispie and Dover Publications, Inc., have rendered a magnificient service to students of eighteenth-century thought, particularly those interested in science and technology. The plates are intelligently chosen and skillfully reproduced. Gillispie's notes are concise, accurate, helpful, and informed. Both the reproduction and the text further the *Encyclopedia*'s purpose, "to assemble the knowledge scattered over the surface of the earth." They also, as Diderot originally hoped, "give the artisans their due" as they cover eighteenth-century agriculture, arts of war, iron foundries and forges, extractive industries, metal working, masonry and carpentry, printing, and fashion as well as the making of glass, textiles, leather goods, jewelry, coins, and other miscellaneous objects. Once more we learn that modern engineers and technicians are not responsible for all the marvels of the twentieth century. As the editor tells us in the foreword, the publisher in his effort to sell the volumes has given them a misleading title. The subtitle (the editor's) is accurate. Diderot made technology carry the ideology (which is but indirectly here). This reviewer believes that the plates and text should have given the publisher hope that the volumes with the exact subtitle would sell in sufficient quantity. The volumes are worth the $18.50 they cost.

Washington, D. C. BCS

GESCHICHTSCHREIBUNG UND HISTORISCHES DENKEN IN FRANKREICH, 1789–1871. By *Peter Stadler.* (Zürich: Verlag Berichthaus. 1958. Pp. 350.) Dr. Stadler's volume is most welcome, all the more so as no comprehensive presentation of

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French historical writing exists. A cursory glance at the corresponding chapters of the well-known books of Eduard Fueter and G. P. Gooch suffices to show how much Stadler went beyond these standard works, not only as regards the number of the historians discussed but in the power of penetration and in the discernment of problems. Since historiography is a relatively young branch of research, it still offers the charms and the pitfalls of regions not thoroughly explored, among them the question of how much use should be made of a biographical approach. Stadler has not indulged in it—correctly so, the reviewer thinks—as he combines it with a grouping according to subject matter. The result, however, is that such personalities as Thiers, Renan, Fustel de Coulanges are not presented as a whole, but are dispersed over different chapters. For example, Thiers' *Histoire de la Révolution française* and his *Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire* are discussed more than a hundred pages apart. The unity of the underlying historical approach is lost to the reader in this way. (The reviewer adds that he himself has tried two different methods in his two studies in historiography and that he is satisfied with neither today.) Stadler stresses very correctly the close link that existed between historical and political thinking in France during the period concerned. This connection exists also with German and Italian historians in the nineteenth century—though perhaps in a somewhat lesser intensity. Characteristically French is the social awareness of the historians presented in the volume. The reviewer hopes that the author will come to regard the year of 1871 within which he limits his narrative only as a temporary boundary. As it is now, the discussion of Fustel de Coulanges and Taine, to the regret of the reader, remains incomplete. The personality of Thiers as a historical writer emerges in Stadler's book more forcefully than it has been perceived previously, albeit the author states correctly that "le plus petit des grands hommes" has no interest whatever in the history of ideas. Perhaps the author has been overgenerous in the evaluation granted to the ecclectic Victor Cousin, while the importance of Auguste Comte for historical thought could have been stressed more strongly in spite of the fact that he had little immediate influence on French historical writing. The reviewer ponders whether it would not have been advisable to form a special group of the "Liberal-Catholics." Such a chapter might have brought more unity to the discussion of Lamennais, Montalembert, Ballanche, Ozanam, and even Buchez; these writers held in common some basic historical concepts. These remarks, however, are marginal question marks rather than critical statements. Stadler's acquaintance with the literature of his field is impressive. The reviewer was pleased to find that careful consideration was given to a number of studies which were published by the Catholic University of America.

Catholic University of America FRIEDRICH ENGEL-JANOSI

POSITIVIST THOUGHT IN FRANCE DURING THE SECOND EMPIRE, 1852–1870. By *D. G. Charlton.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1959. Pp. ix, 251. $5.60.) The author, lecturer in French at the University of Hull, has turned his London doctoral thesis into this interesting, careful, and thoughtful book. His principal proposition (despite what the jacket, curiously, says to the contrary) is that positivism was in fact not a very significant movement during the Second Empire. First, positivism is defined to mean "philosophical positivism" only, summarily excluding both the sociologists who adopted "social positivism" and the orthodox followers of Comte (at least one of whom, however, was an erudite philosopher) who maintained the tradition of "religious positivism." Next, "philosophical positivism" in turn is defined to signify principally a theory of knowledge (phenomenalism) and secondarily a "positivist state of mind" (skepticism). The candidates for the label "positivists" are then reduced to seven: Comte himself, his disciple Littré, the scientist Claude Bernard (only one-quarter of the book is

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devoted to these three), Taine and Renan, and two Parnassian poets, Louise Ackermann and Sully Prudhomme. Even of these, only Littré and Bernard, and up to a point Sully Prudhomme, finally pass muster. Not only Taine and Renan, but Comte as well, are dismissed as "false friends of positivism." Such a definition, on which the whole exposition and argument of the book are based, seems neither just in principle nor fruitful in application. While the impact of positivism (however defined) has indeed often been overrated, it does not appear useful to define a movement virtually out of existence. A strict application of Mr. Charlton's criterion, in fact, disqualifies Littré too, leaving, significantly, an antiphilosophical scientist as the sole standard-bearer of a philosophy; and indeed at one point Charlton simply identifies "positivism" with "science." Elsewhere he refers to "the positivism of Hume and his successors" and to positivism "in the guise of Voltaire." His definition clearly deprives positivism not only of adherents but also of all distinctive characteristics, and inevitably it involves the author in very many historical and logical difficulties. To ask whether Comte was a positivist is like asking not so much, as Charlton suggests, whether the pope is a Catholic as whether Mohammed was a Moslem. Nevertheless, this excellently produced book, despite disagreement, is a pleasure to read. The author has a sound instinct and many perceptive ideas, and his scholarship in exploiting a wide range of printed materials in French and English is high. The literary chapters are especially interesting for historians.

Cornell University W. M. Simon

ON THE GAME OF POLITICS IN FRANCE. By *Nathan Leites.* Foreword by *D. W. Brogan.* (2d rev. ed.; Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press for the RAND Corporation. 1959. Pp. xiii, 190. $4.50.) This is a readable and original book that approaches French parliamentary mores from a new angle and questions many established notions of French politics—e. g., the persistence of historical issues, the continued relevance of "right" and "left," the primacy of idealism and of theoretical issues over the down-to-earth pragmatic approach. Nathan Leites, a sociologist of the RAND Corporation, has amassed a great many pertinent anecdotes and quotations illustrating the realities behind these enduring myths, the tribal customs of the "republic of pals," the rules of the complicated game—now melee, now minuet—in which the representatives of the Fourth Republic engaged, apparently oblivious of party differences and platforms, and of the world beyond the insulating portals of what in an earlier book Leites called *The House without Windows.* The study, first published in France last year, has already caused controversy among French political scientists. Critics have pointed to a certain disregard for chronology inherent in the method and, with more justice, to the concentration upon center parties which has meant ignoring the behavior of the extremes even though this could be exceedingly relevant to an investigation that more than once raises the question whether would-be dissenters inevitably succumb to the assembly's climate—as so many Poujadists did after their success in 1956—or whether it is possible to hold out and impose one's own rules with any hope of success. The book is not perfect, but it was worth doing and it is well worth reading. It makes an admirable contribution to the *sottisier* of contemporary France, provides suggestions for understanding problems as relevant to the Fifth Republic as to the Fourth, and hints at questions we might well ask of assemblies in Washington and Westminister, not only in the Palais Bourbon. First, and not of the least importance, it brings us a foreword by D. W. Brogan, pithy and perceptive as ever.

University of California, Los Angeles Eugen Weber

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TWO YEARS OF FRENCH FOREIGN POLICY: VICHY 1940–1942. By *Adrienne Doris Hytier*. [Études d'histoire économique, politique et sociale, Volume XXV.] (Geneva: Librairie E. Droz; Paris: Librairie Minard. 1958. Pp. 402.) This is a critical estimate, based on an extraordinarily wide range of materials. Miss Hytier has been immensely diligent in the pursuit of odd pieces of information, has talked or corresponded with a number of more or less important persons in the regime, and has made use of unpublished evidence. Her conclusions do not offer anything startling, but one scarcely expects major revelations now. It is the detail of her work, not least on the economic side of the negotiations with Germany, that will recommend it to students. Her account of relations between Great Britain and Vichy is fair and balanced, but seen, certainly, from the French position. Her estimate of United States policy toward Vichy is less favorable than William L. Langer's. But the differences largely reduce themselves to the old business of approaching a mountain from various sides. Because at times she had to go over familiar ground, she evidently felt some embarrassment. This sensation may be justifiable, but it tends occasionally to reduce the interest of the book in those cases where it results in unsatisfactory abbreviation and summary. The fact that someone else has told a story ought not to forbid its being told again, unless there really is nothing but to repeat it word for word. In the case of Vichy, it is doubtful that this is so. But of course there may be the justification that the book is already substantial. And it is true enough that it can be read in conjunction with the more general account of Robert Aron and Georgette Elgey. One of the most interesting points developed is the dismissal of General Weygand in November 1941 from his post as delegate general in North Africa. On the basis of hitherto unpublished letters from Darlan to Pétain (copied in the manuscript diary of General Laure, to which the author had access), it is shown that Weygand was the victim as much of the Admiral's dislike and rivalry—to an extent which the General himself may not until now have realized—as of Hitler's displeasure. The final consideration here is that France survived the war in a relatively favorable position not merely because of the Free French, but because the Germans always mistrusted Vichy. They never knew how to take advantage of the mistakes (as Miss Hytier judges them) of British policy nor the impotence of American policy. They did not try to entice France into a partnership which might have made possible the full collaboration that Pierre Laval and Darlan, among others, vainly sought. And this general proposition seems as acceptable as the whole of the dispassionate study.

University of Toronto JOHN C. CAIRNS

THE FRENCH NAVY IN WORLD WAR II. By *Rear Admiral Paul Auphan* and *Jacques Mordal*. Translated by *Captain A. C. J. Sabalot*. (Annapolis, Md.: United States Naval Institute. c. 1959. Pp. xvi, 413. $6.00.) The motto of the French navy—*Valeur et Discipline, Valeur et Patrie*—is exemplified in every chapter of this comprehensive history of that navy in World War II. This account leaves no question about the valour and honor of French officers and men, and it demonstrates their severe tests of discipline and loyalty during the war. Fate placed the authors in the Vichy camp and then in Occupied France, yet they write with equal understanding and objectivity of the Free French side. Both authors played important roles in this dramatic period of French history, but mention of their personal activities is inconspicuously made in the third person. This book gives valuable specific detail on the French navy in World War II which has previously not been available in English; and it provides answers to many interesting nonnaval questions: How does a defeated and divided nation survive in the geographic and temporal center of a world war? How does it feed and sustain itself? And how does it maintain dignity, integrity, and property at home and abroad? This

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history is well planned and written, and the translator's linguistic and professional abilities serve to enhance the literary skill of the authors. The United States Naval Institute is to be complimented on this fine addition to its list of authoritative volumes on the foreign side of World War II. This reviewer considers it unfortunate, however, that the Institute's unnaval manner of presenting dates (e.g., June 6, 1944) has been imposed in place of the official naval form (6 June 1944) of both France and the United States.

Bethesda, Maryland ROGER PINEAU

CHARLES DE GAULLE: THE CRUCIAL YEARS, 1943–1944. By *Arthur Layton Funk*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. c. 1959. Pp. xv, 336. $5.00.) Although Mr. Funk's introduction is dated January 1959, it seems clear that the manuscript was completed before the spring of 1958—thus, on the final page, a reference to "the tragic course" of the General's career. But for more than a year now such a judgment has been rendered unclear: either it no longer means anything, or it means what it says in a still more intense fashion—depending perhaps on the manner in which each of us takes his news from France. At all events nothing since the glorious May 13 has reduced the overall fascination of this book. And it is a tribute to its author's unruffled weighing of the events of the day before yesterday that the return of Charles de Gaulle—which probably no one very much expected—has not caught Funk short. He wrote his story as if his principal subject were dead. The book's publication at the moment when the memorialist of Colombey-les-Deux-Églises dramatically staged a return to a fresh and not less exacting political life only heightens the interest of this narrative. Put rather crudely, it carefully recounts the manner in which the General ruthlessly eliminated his French rival and triumphed over his Anglo-American opponents, eventually to establish his Committee of National Liberation as the sole recognized repository of the sovereignty of France. Drawing on the large body of materials now available, Funk has traced the endless, maddening negotiations and scuffles and sulks and explosions on the political front between Washington, London, and Algiers. This is a success story, although one may not always be inclined to cheer the hero or boo the villian. De Gaulle—especially in the days before the acquisition of his recently self-confessed tolerance—cut an admirable and courageous figure, but scarcely a lovable one. One may be inclined to feel that perhaps Franklin Roosevelt did better in other fields and at other times. Certainly on this reading, the President demonstrated a foolish, pig-headed, and recklessly arbitrary refusal to face facts. Of course, as Funk so fairly insists, the French problem was hardly the most pressing of the inter-Allied difficulties. But on that account alone, the almost malignant opposition of the White House to recognition of De Gaulle when everyone else (and perhaps even Admiral Leahy) had come to accept Gaullist claims to authority —however arrived at, whatever they might spell for the future—presents a nice psychological case for readers to contemplate. Possibly Roosevelt's biographers will shortly throw light on all this. Meantime one can only continue to sympathize with almost everyone involved in this appalling minor civil war in the camp of the four freedoms—and not least with Winston Churchill, who, if he was neither infallible nor above considerations of national interest, was quite certainly the wisest and most farseeing of the heads of government. Other readers, of course, may very well arrive at another conclusion after a consideration of this clear, lively, and agreeably documented study in wartime diplomacy, human obstinacy, and the vagaries of one of the more notable single-minded personages of recent times.

University of Toronto JOHN C. CAIRNS

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NEUTRALISM AND NATIONALISM IN FRANCE: A CASE STUDY. By *John T. Marcus.* (New York: Bookman Associates. c. 1958. Pp. 207. $4.50.) This is an indifferent book written by a knowledgeable man. It discusses an interesting aspect of the French political climate between 1947 and 1958: the convergence of two apparently conflicting sentiments—left-wing neutralism and right-wing nationalism. By 1954 and 1956, with American policy acting as catalyst, this nationalistic neutralism advanced beyond a relatively restricted scope to the defeat of EDC and the mood prevailing at Suez and after. More and more people, antagonized by the antics of MacArthur and McCarthy, came to fear a war precipitated by American foolhardiness. Revival of Jacobin patriotism on the left coincided with the growth of defensive nationalism on the right, both sides touchily suspicious of a United States whose influence both resented and whose backing of German rearmament both suspected, though for different reasons. The rapprochement between a left interested in social reform and a right concerned for national honor is competently described and based on copious reading in a respectable range of sources, including many current periodicals, which are listed in a useful bibliography. On the other hand, the book does little to advance our knowledge: its account of events leading up to the paradoxical conjunction of apparent opposites is useful and straightforward in a limited way, but does not go very deep. The developments it outlines are already familiar to students of recent French history; there is no serious attempt to relate them to wider social or ideological issues or to indicate their historical rather than immediate significance—if any. Indeed, there is little sense of history about a study which hardly hints that the situation here described has its parallel in the politics of the 1930's. A last chapter comparing French neutralism with similar phenomena in Britain and Germany merely enhances the superficial impression. And the heavy show of scholarly apparatus begs the question whether it is really necessary to footnote the most commonplace of statements: Ph.D. candidates do it, and might well do it less. Must Mr. Marcus?

University of California, Los Angeles EUGEN WEBER

ORÍGENES DEL ANARQUISMO EN BARCELONA. By *Casimiro Martí.* Prologue by *J. Vicens Vives.* [Centro de Estudios Históricos Internacionales, Universidad de Barcelona, Serie B: Monografías, Number 1.] (Barcelona: Editorial Teide. 1959. Pp. 146.) This short volume offers impressive evidence of the scholarly tone and technique of much recent Spanish historiography. In great detail and with a wealth of supporting evidence, the author traces the history of working-class organization in Barcelona from 1864 to 1871. His thesis is that Bakuninist principles were neither the majority tendency nor the original impulse in the beginnings of Catalan anarchism. One of his more interesting illustrations of the point is that only a slight majority of the *Congreso Obrero* in 1870 voted in favor of political abstentionism despite much pressure from the Bakuninist leadership; and that most of the delegates from outside Barcelona (those less immediately subject to the influence of Bakunin's disciples) voted against abstentionism. The first half of the book outlines the several theoretical tendencies present. The latter half deals with organizational activities and personal relationships and distinguishes carefully among imported and native programs, middle-class and proletarian contributions. The footnotes and documentary appendix give the reader an opportunity to meet little-known but influential leaders of the early Catalan working-class movement.

Wellesley College GABRIEL JACKSON

LES CAS DE LOUVAIN ET LE LIVRE BLANC ALLEMAND: ÉTUDE CRITIQUE DE LA DOCUMENTATION ALLEMANDE RELATIVE AUX ÉVÉNEMENTS QUI SE SONT DÉROULÉS À LOUVAIN DU 25 AU 28 AOÛT 1914. By *Peter*

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Schöller. Preface by *F. Petri.* Translated from the German by *E. Nieuwborg.* (Louvain: Éditions E. Nauwelaerts. 1958. Pp. xx, 120. 40 fr. B.) After the mass horrors of World War II, in which civilian resistance and civilian extermination proceeded on a wholesale scale, it is almost refreshing to find that serious scholars are still concerned with affixing responsibility for the acts of violence that certain German army units inflicted on a few thousand Belgian civilians in August 1914. But truth, and the pursuit thereof, have a deathless and absolute value. In that fateful August incidents occurred between German troops and Belgian civilians in a number of occupied towns, notably Louvain, and German troops set fires that destroyed a considerable area, including the famous university library. The Belgian government promptly accused the German military of war crimes, while the German authorities countercharged that the Belgians had organized an illegal war by *franc-tireurs* and that the German military had been entirely justified in taking what are euphemistically known as "energetic measures." The Germans instituted a military commission of inquiry, the results of which were published in a famous *Weissbuch* released by the Auswärtiges Amt in May 1915. The tendentious nature of this whitewash document was evident from its very title: *Die völkerrichtswidrige Führung des belgischen Volkskrieges.* For years thereafter the charges and countercharges flew back and forth across the Belgian-German border. In 1956 Dr. Mayence of Louvain and Dr. Petri of Münster organized a committee of three Belgian and three German historians to probe this controversy. Originally they intended to publish a definitive study of three out of the four cases which received special attention in the German White Book, namely, the incidents at Andenne, Dinant, and Louvain. Although much work has been done on Andenne and Dinant respectively by Petri and his colleague Dr. Kosthorst, it was decided that the study on Louvain should not be held up to await the completion of the other two. Such, then, is the provenance of this little book by Dr. Schöller, which does not purport to be an all-inclusive study of what really happened at Louvain from August 25 to 28, 1914. As the title implies, this study focuses sharply on the German White Book and aims solely at evaluating the credibility of that publication. Cooly and methodically Schöller analyzes the evidence and the conclusions that the German authorities derived therefrom. His considered judgment, endorsed by the committee, is that the German White Book is so full of contradictions and falsifications that it cannot be accepted as a reliable source for understanding the events that led to the so-called "sack of Louvain." Schöller does not say with utter certainty that no Belgian civilians fired any shots at German troops, but he does insist that the flimsy evidence presented in the White Book does not substantiate the German charge that the Belgians were guilty of organizing an illegal *Volkskrieg* against the occupying forces. His own private conclusion, offered in a "note additionnelle," is that certain German troops at Louvain, being highly fearful of an attack by Belgian *franc-tireurs,* actually fired on other German units and thus touched off the whole sorry episode.

Washington, D. C. WILLIAM M. FRANKLIN

POLITIK OCH FINANSVÄSEN FRÅN 1815 ÅRS RIKSDAG TILL 1830 ÅRS REALISATIONSBESLUT. Volume I, 1815–1818. By *Per G. Andreen.* [Stockholm Studies in History, Number 3.] (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell. 1958. Pp. xxv, 636. Kr. 40.) The first volume of *Politik och finansväsen från 1815 års Riksdag till 1830 års realisationsbeslut* represents a careful and objective study of Sweden's monetary problems from 1815 to 1818. The author became interested in the many-sided ramifications of Sweden's financial difficulties when he prepared a biography of Carl David Skogman, who drafted the king's plan for currency reform before the Riksdag of 1828–1830. It terminated a long controversy over Sweden's monetary problems, which colored politics

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and strained personal relationships. It is the origin and nature of Sweden's financial and economic difficulties that concern Andreen in this new work, which contains 576 documented pages and a bibliography, but no index. Andreen is critical of S. Brisman's interpretation of Sweden's monetary policies from 1808 to 1834 and particularly of the manner in which this scholar handled his source materials. Brisman's work has long been regarded as a standard reference. Andreen had access to the Bernadotte archives, which Brisman did not. Bernadotte, who became known in Sweden as "Karl XIV Johan," regarded himself as an expert on financial matters. Both as crown prince and king he injected himself into the monetary controversy. It is because of this situation that Andreen feels justified through his extensive research to depart from Brisman's interpretations. The task which Andreen has assigned to himself is a difficult one. Though the monetary problems of Sweden are constantly in the focus, Andreen desires to relate them to the economic, social, and political aspects of life. He has perhaps not succeeded sometimes, but it is doubtful that anyone could have done a much better job. The brief introduction describes the general economic conditions in Europe and the economic and social conditions in Sweden in 1815 when Sweden was a relatively undeveloped country. The Swedish National Bank, called the Swedish State Bank by Andreen, had not taken the same form as the Bank of England. It was often exploited for inflationary financing of public expenditures. From 1815 to 1830 both English and American influences made themselves felt in Sweden. (To Americans it might be of interest to point out that the Swedes early became acquainted with the writings of Alexander Hamilton.) The government had committed itself to a policy of currency contraction in 1812, but a depression in 1815 made such a policy seem unwise. Sweden's situation was critical as the government explored ways of encouraging the economic development and growth of the country. Attempts were made to formulate commercial, fiscal, and currency policies that aimed at a favorable balance of trade and a sound currency. But the monetary problems were complex. Policies of contraction and expansion were related to the budget, the balance of trade, and economic activity, which in turn had social, political, and economic connotations.

Augustana College O. Fritiof Ander

PATRIOTER INTELLIGENS OG SKANDINAVER: NORSKE REAKSJONER PÅ SKANDINAVISMEN FØR 1848. By *John Sanness.* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget. 1959. Pp. viii, 650. Kr. 19.75.) The publication of John Sanness' work gives us now a third study of Scandinavianism of a hundred years ago. Hans Lundh (*Från skandinavism till neutralitet* [Trälleborg, 1950] and Erik Møller (*Skandinavisk Straeben og svensk Politik omkring 1860* [Copenhagen, 1948]) described other aspects, but for the first time a Norwegian has turned his attention to Scandinavianism between the revolution of 1830 and the war over Schleswig-Holstein in 1848–1851. Sanness attempts no examination of all Norwegian reactions or interests, but, as preparation for another volume, he concentrates on persons, the stream of ideas, and the Student Society. Scandinavianism, which is most frequently defined as a spirit of brotherhood between the Nordic peoples, started with idealistic university students of the 1830's and had many manifestations. Some proponents wanted a political union of the three kingdoms when Christian VIII died; others wished a form of cultural union; and still others desired a union in everything but politics. In Norway these ideas became mixed with bitter memories of the Kalmar Union with Denmark or the brief union with Sweden. Understandably, the warmth of Norwegian receptivity was slight and some supporters of its tenets were judged traitors to Norway. Sanness' description of these years, these men, and the movement reveals heated controversies and complicated differences of opinions

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against a background of general trends toward Scandinavianism. As he moves from one individual and cultural-political movement to another, however, Sanness' treatment becomes sometimes confusing even though thoroughly complete. Perhaps it might have been relieved by some analysis of the main currents of thought and some background, instead of the separate threads of Norwegian reactions. Union troubles and socio-economic forces both affected Norwegian responses to Scandinavianism more than Sanness suggests. Yet this volume, with its rich bibliography and its mature judgment, is an addition to the literature of Norway's nineteenth-century history.

Occidental College RAYMOND E. LINDGREN

CONRAD PEUTINGER: BEITRÄGE ZU EINER POLITISCHEN BIOGRAPHIE. By *Heinrich Lutz*. [Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Stadt Augsburg. Schriftenreihe des Stadtarchivs Augsburg, Heft 9.] (Augsburg: Verlag die Brigg. [1958.] Pp. xi, 421.) This careful study of Peutinger, the great Augsburg humanist-statesman, concentrates primarily upon his political career during the *Aetas Maximilianea* and the period of the Reformation to 1530, when the triumph of the evangelical party spelled an end to his policy of the "middle way" for Augsburg, although he remained in office until 1534 and lived to be ennobled by Charles V in 1547. More than a biography, this detailed chronological account of Peutinger's management of city-state affairs depicts the struggle for survival against territorial consolidation, the influence of capitalists upon political developments, and the internal strife during the Reformation crisis. In contrast to the pattern of decline among the Hanseatic cities, Augsburg's period of greatest prosperity was closely correlated with the rise of the Hapsburg Empire. Peutinger was often frustrated in promoting Augsburg's commerce (he married a Welser), failing to maintain direct trade with Portuguese India, having the Venetian trade limited by wars after 1508, and experiencing difficulties with France and in the area beyond the Oder. But the rising Hapsburg Empire opened up new opportunities, and Peutinger understood the methods by which Augsburg could profit from the dependence of the Hapsburgs upon the new capital to prolongate the life of the imperial city. He thus successfully delayed the "dethroning of the city," a policy which gave the period a peculiar intermezzo character. The ultimate inability of the Augsburg capitalists and their city secretary to control their larger political environment successfully lends support to Joseph Schumpeter's general observations on the relationship of these entrepreneurs to the political powers of their day. This volume is indeed a welcome supplement to the work of Clemens Bauer, Erich König, and Götz Freiherr von Pölnitz.

University of Missouri LEWIS W. SPITZ

MARTIN BUCER: ÉTUDES SUR LA CORRESPONDANCE AVEC DE NOMBREUX TEXTES INÉDITS. Volume I. By *J. V. Pollet*. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1958. Pp. xi, 356. 2,800 fr.) The correspondence of Martin Bucer is indispensable for understanding the man and his thought. Yet as late as 1951 Robert Stupperich could complain of the lack of a critical edition of the correspondence and even of the works. A beginning was made by F. Wendel's publication of the *De Regno Christi* in 1953, and now J. V. Pollet has given us a volume of letters. The latter's search for manuscripts has taken him to sundry libraries, among them Göttingen, Cambridge, notably Strassburg, and of course Zurich for the Simmler collection. From hundreds of letters by Bucer or relating to him Pollet has selected forty-seven for editing. Some of the letters have been published before but not, as here, from the archetypes. The correspondence is arranged chronologically, and represents Bucer in three significant and interesting periods of his career: 1526–1536, 1542–1547, 1549–1551, the year of his death). Selection of letters was

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dictated mainly by subject matter generally associated with the name of Bucer, but in part by a desire to show how the correspondence confirms or corrects opinions on Bucer and his thought. In the first period the subject of the Lord's Supper predominates; in the second there is interesting material on translating the Koran, on Christology, and on a hoped-for Protestant union; the third has letters from Bucer's sojourn in England. Pollet is a superb editor. The letters are furnished with good introductions; the notes are rich in bibliographies and in biographical aids. There is a complete guide to the caches in archival centers used, and there are six indexes (Biblical, historical, names of authors cited, subject matter, and terminology). May his second volume come soon.

University of Oregon QUIRINUS BREEN

GESCHICHTE DES SCHLESWIGSCHEN GRENZLANDES. By *Troels Fink*. German translation by *Erik Bernstorff*. (Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard. 1958. Pp. 352. D.kr. 20.) Professor Troels Fink has established his position as the foremost authority in Denmark on the history of the German-Danish borderlands. The present book is a translation of two in the Danish language: *Rids af Sønderjyllands Historie* [Sketch of the History of South Jutland] and *Sønderjylland siden Genforening i 1920* [South Jutland since the Reunion of 1920.] As the latter ended with the year 1954, the translation adds a brief account of the German-Danish compromise agreements of 1955 that regulate the status of the minorities on both sides of the frontier. One third of the book surveys the history of Schleswig in its relations with Holstein on one side and Denmark on the other from the dim beginnings of its history to the end of the eighteenth century. Excellent summaries are given of the transactions of 1460 and 1721, which provided the legalistic controversies that were held as basic truths by the Schleswig-Holstein and Eider-Danish parties respectively in the national conflicts of the nineteenth century. That each side misunderstood what had actually happened has been well established. Two thirds of the book deal with the development and course of the conflicts since the rise of nationalism on both sides in the early years of the nineteenth century. The translation into German is intended to present readers south of the border with an account of the history of the disputed lands that is up to date in scholarship and moderate and reasonable in interpretation. Although some differences in point of view persist, the book shows the progress that has been made by Danish and German historians in eliminating nationalistic bias. The reports of the conferences held by them since 1945 suggest that the book would be only a little different if it had been written by Professor Alexander Scharff and his colleagues at Kiel instead of by a Danish historian at Aarhus.

University of Minnesota LAWRENCE D. STEEFEL

DER ADMIRALSTAB UND DIE OBERSTEN MARINEBEHÖRDEN IN DEUTSCHLAND, 1848–1945. By *Walter Hubatsch*. (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag für Wehrwesen Bernard & Graefe. c. 1958. Pp. 269.) Naval historians have often contrasted the excellence of German naval engineering with the inadequacy of German naval strategy. A partial explanation is supplied in Professor Hubatsch's praiseworthy history of the Admiralstab. As the ranking naval command organ it might have overcome this imbalance if it had become the naval analogue of the Prussian General Staff. The story of its failure to obtain operative control over the German fleet focuses Hubatsch's narrative on the period 1889–1919. His frank account—based on new archival sources—of imperial Germany's confused naval administration makes a valuable supplement to his previous study, *Die Ära Tirpitz* (1955). A faulty command structure was the German navy's Prussian legacy. The fiction of princely command and the model of the Prussian army weighed heavily on the development of the navy's higher echelons. And after 1888 William II presided over the navy's intraservice rivalries with a mock solemnity that hid

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his real incompetence. More serious than a crowned dilettante for the navy's staff functions was Tirpitz' insistence on controlling German naval affairs from the Reichsmarineamt. Both the administrative reorganizations in 1889 and 1899 had merely given him the space to maneuver for realizing his ambition. He blocked the effort of successive Admiralstab chiefs, Admirals Bendemann, Diederichs, and Büchsel (the last his own nominee), to train staff cadres at the operative, fleet, and squadron levels. Instead, Tirpitz forced the naval academy to meet the substantial increase of officers required by his capital ship-building program. These technical-minded line officers lacked grounding in strategic and operative thinking. The older staff officers, many of whom had shown a bold, imaginative grasp of modern fleet and cruiser operations, slowly atrophied under Tirpitz' insistence on the *Risikogedanke* which justified his massive capital ship program. Tirpitz and the fleet command refused to be bound by the Admiralstab's operative plans; the fleet command boldly issued its own tactical directives. By 1908–1909 the Admiralstab had sunk to the level of a "naval studies" activity. Its eclipse did not hurt the navy alone. Through the Admiralstab naval and military operative planning had been loosely coordinated. Major changes in the naval war plans had at least been reviewed by the General Staff, somewhat indifferently by Schlieffen, more sympathetically by Moltke. But by 1913–1914, Tirpitz' program and his personal influence convinced both Kaiser and Chancellor that the fleet was a political makeweight, a bargaining asset at a future conference, not a battle instrument serving Germany's grand strategy. The author contends that ship construction and design continued to take precedence over strategic calculations during the Weimar and Nazi phases of German naval history. His preference for surface operations and his disdain for U-boats gives this judgment more plausibility than it seems to warrant. But his comment is an afterthought: the history of the Admiralstab ends with the scuttling of the High Seas Fleet on June 21, 1919.

University of Notre Dame WILLIAM O. SHANAHAN

PRELUDE TO DEMOCRACY: A STUDY OF PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION AND THE HERITAGE OF WEIMAR GERMANY, 1871–1920. By *Donald J. Ziegler*. [University of Nebraska Studies, New Series Number 20.] (Lincoln: University of Nebraska. 1958. Pp. ix, 134.) Ziegler's study has arisen out of a doctoral dissertation directed by Eugene Anderson at the University of Nebraska. It describes the theory and practice of proportional representation in Germany from 1870 to 1920. The purpose of the work is descriptive rather than polemical, and it is devoid of any over-all thesis such as Hermens' view that proportional representation was a major cause of the failure of the Weimar Republic. Ziegler is fully aware of both the advantage of proportional representation (giving an accurate mirror of the electorate) and its main defect (the decrease of parliamentary effectiveness). He is neither a fanatical friend nor foe of the system. What disturbs him in the German case is the fact that proportional representation, in theory the most democratic voting system, was perverted by the imperial ruling class for the antidemocratic end of checking Socialist victories in such elections as those held for urban constituencies, industrial courts, and insurance boards. Despite this fact, the Socialists remained, more through mental inertia than a zeal for justice, permanently attached to proportional representation, though as the largest party in Germany it ceased to be in their interest by 1912 at the latest. Ziegler doubts, however, the view of Schauff and Hermens that proportional representation alone deprived the Socialists of a majority in the 1919 elections. The book is generally successful in placing the suffrage problem in the general context of German history, and occasional minor errors do not detract from its value as a conscientious piece of research.

Harvard University KLAUS EPSTEIN

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DIARIO DALLE CENTO VOCI, 1858–1860. By *Giuseppe Massari.* Preface by *Emilia Morelli.* ([Bologna]: Cappelli. [1959.] Pp. xxxviii, 543. L. 4,000.) The late Professor Adolfo Omodeo labeled Giuseppe Massari's account of the Piedmont of Cavour between August 2, 1858, and September 19, 1860, the "diary of a hundred voices." As a matter of fact, more than fifteen hundred diplomats and politicians voice their views in this informative diary. An earlier and highly infelicitous version was published in Bologna in 1931 by G. Beltrani, with frequent unwarranted omissions and inventions. Emilia Morelli's rendition is based on scrupulous deciphering of the original notebooks preserved in the Museo Centrale del Risorgimento in Rome. *Risorgimento* researchers will also be indebted to her for having indexed the galaxy of people mentioned in the diary and for having written an introductory essay that explains many of its historical revelations and limitations. Massari, who was born in Taranto in 1821 and died in Rome in 1884, was a cosmopolitan politician and writer. He spent much time in France between 1838 and 1846 and gained fluency in French, English, and German. A political moderate, he became a devoted follower first of Carlo Alberto, later of Gioberti, and finally of Cavour. In 1848 he found himself elected to the new parliament in Naples, for which he was rewarded with a death sentence by the Bourbons. Henceforth identifying himself with Piedmont, he was to play a role in its annexations of Emilia and Tuscany. After 1860 he was usually a deputy in the Subalpine parliament. In his diary he eschewed references to his own personal life, and usually he was content to record the remarks of others rather than his own views. It may well have been that Cavour asked him to keep the diary record; in any event he passed the notebooks to Cavour and took time to recopy carefully the first section. It is clear from references to Plombières and other events that Cavour told Massari only what he wished him to know and used him as necessity dictated. It is also patent that Massari had no use for Mazzini and most men of the left (though for Garibaldi he occasionally showed friendly interest). References to such men are scarce. His ambient was restricted chiefly to diplomats and to Piedmontese parliamentarians, and of these he had much to record.

Vanderbilt University CHARLES F. DELZELL

THE ITALIAN FASCIST PARTY IN POWER: A STUDY IN TOTALITARIAN RULE. By *Dante L. Germino.* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. c. 1959. Pp. x, 181. $4.50.) Although Italian Fascism attracted a great amount of attention during its heyday, almost no serious studies regarding it have appeared since its demise—and since whatever records it left behind have become available to the investigator. Scholars, like others, appear to be attracted by what succeeds and repelled by what fails. Because of the paucity of after-the-fact studies of Fascism the present work is particularly welcome. In addition, it is of especial interest to me, for it completes, as it were, the story that Herbert W. Schneider and I endeavored to rough out in the early days of Fascism in our *Making Facists* (Chicago, 1929). Needless to say, Professor Germino has been unable to do justice in the 144 pages of his text to the important subject of the Fascist party and its functioning. Partly because of space limitations and partly from design, he has not attempted to describe the development of Fascism, that is, to make a historical study of his subject. Rather, he has made an analysis of how the Fascist party established and maintained its totalitarian power. In the execution of this task the author has amassed important data and has arrived at generalizations regarding totalitarianism that are worthy of the attention of all students of political science. Unfortunately, readers of this work will find the prose somewhat disjointed. A reviewer can hardly refrain from expressing the hope that in the future the author will devote more of his efforts to craftsmanship.

Columbia University SHEPARD B. CLOUGH

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MODERN RUSSIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY. By *Anatole G. Mazour.* (2d ed.; Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand Company. 1958. Pp. xii, 260. $6.50.) In this revised version of *An Outline of Modern Russian Historiography,* originally published in 1939, Professor Mazour has enlarged and brought up to date his useful handbook. An introductory chapter on "Annalistic Literature" has been added, and the single chapter on the period since 1800 in the earlier edition is now replaced by four chapters that include much new material. Of the general accounts of Russian historiography published since the first edition of this work, only that of N. L. Rubinstein (1941) and the projected three-volume collaborative work edited by M. N. Tikhomirov (of which the first volume [1955] covers the period to the middle of the nineteenth century) can claim a similar scope. These are much fuller accounts, but as they are in Russian they cannot reach the audience for which Mazour's work is intended. The strength of Mazour's account lies in his sketches of the principal historians of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These brief summaries provide the essential information regarding their careers and ideas, and will give the beginner a vivid picture of the evolution of Russian historical thought. The substantive contributions of Russian historians since 1917 are relatively neglected, on the other hand, and the main emphasis is placed on the Communist party line as it has affected historical writing. Mazour concludes his narrative with some useful suggestions as to opportunities for research in Russian history.

Princeton University C. E. Black

ALEXANDER II AND THE MODERNIZATION OF RUSSIA. By *W. E. Mosse.* [Teach Yourself History.] (New York: Macmillan Company. c. 1958. Pp. 191. $2.50.) Mr. W. E. Mosse's study of *Alexander II and the Modernization of Russia* is a new volume in the well-known Teach Yourself History series which consists of brief monographs, each striving to combine scholarship with popularization and by way of a biography "to open up a significant historical theme." The work achieves these purposes; and it is also successful in a more general sense as an informed, intelligent, and perceptive account of the reign of Alexander II. In less than two hundred pages the author presents a wealth of material organized, to a considerable extent chronologically, in successive chapters dealing with unreformed Russia, the new emperor, the Czar Liberator, the reforming emperor, Alexander and the Poles and Finns, the czar despot, Alexander II and the Russian expansionists, and the czar martyr. A brief bibliographical essay and an index complete the volume. Special merits of the study include an expert account of the foreign policy of the reign and considerable attention to the character and personal life of the Emperor. Indeed it is this emphasis on the personal element that distinguishes Mosse's book from the great bulk of other works on the period. The failings of the volume are principally those of omission, and they must be attributed to the drastic limitations on the size of the work imposed on the author. Mosse's interpretation of the reign, although ably presented and argued, will be disputed both by such critics as Soviet historians, who stress the limits and the upper-class nature of the reforms, and by optimistic liberal sympathizers who believe that Alexander II would have succeeded completely in giving Russian history a progressive and peaceful direction had he only also granted his subjects a constitution.

University of California, Berkeley Nicholas V. Riasanovsky

PORTRAITS OF RUSSIAN PERSONALITIES BETWEEN REFORM AND REVOLUTION. By *Richard Hare.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1959. Pp. viii, 360. $6.75.) This sequel to the same author's *Pioneers of Russian Social Thought* (*AHR,* LVII [Apr. 1952], 677) contains fifteen sketches of varying lengths. The subjects range from such giants of Russian literature as Turgenev, Dostoevsky, and Tol-

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stoy (who is the subject of two of the ten chapters) to such somewhat less well-known figures as the *narodniks* N. Mikhailovsky, P. Lavrov, and L. Tikhomirov, or the little-known "religious-minded intellectuals" N. F. Fyodorov, V. Solovyov, and V. V. Rozanov. The book is evidently the result of mature reflection and very wide reading in the works of the personalities surveyed and in the recent Soviet studies of them. As a result the essays are readable, informative, and often stimulating because of a point of view that challenges the commonly accepted historical portraits. Turgenev comes off rather better than his critics, and Dostoevsky suffers some debunking. One of the most sympathetic portraits is that of Count Sergei Vitte, in the course of which Czar Alexander III appears in an unusually favorable light. The author's own judgments are often transparent, as in this sentence from the opening paragraph of Chapter VII: "When we try to examine the chequered course of the *narodnik* intellectual movement, to explain its inflated importance, to pin down its much-vaunted anti-bourgeois and partly anti-European character, we find it full of oddly assorted components, in which sincere but disembodied thought, agrarian nostalgia, dislike or envy of the Europeanized nobility, frustrated national ambition, moods of heroic self-abasement, and a thirst for martyrdom, all played distinct and sometimes conflicting parts." But Hare is not polemical in manner or purpose; his object is to show in new or clearer perspective some neglected and some familiar personalities among the reformers under the last three czars. In this purpose he has succeeded well.

Washington, D. C. GEORGE BARR CARSON, JR.

PATTERN FOR SOVIET YOUTH: A STUDY OF THE CONGRESSES OF THE KOMSOMOL, 1918–1954. By *Ralph Talcott Fisher, Jr.* [Studies of the Russian Institute, Columbia University.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1959. Pp. xvii, 452. $6.75.) Professor Fisher has carefully limited his study of the All-Union Leninist Communist League of Youth—the Komsomol—by basing it upon the records of the twelve national Komsomol congresses held during the years 1918–1954. From this self-imposed limitation arise both the strengths and weaknesses of the book. Detailed analyses of each congress bring out with great clarity the patterns of attitudes and conduct that the Communist party sought to impose upon large segments of talented and vigorous Soviet youth. (The Komsomol claimed seventeen million members in 1953.) The party's obsessive urge to control all thought and action and to suppress spontaneity and unchanneled initiative are also well delineated by grimly repetitious but incontrovertible evidence. This heavily documented account of the party's indefatigable efforts to rig every discussion, every vote, and every decision lucidly portrays the Alice-in-Wonderland atmosphere of the later congresses in which all parliamentary rules and liberal ideals were praised and none honored. Inevitably Fisher's concentration upon the records of the congresses gives his narrative the stultifying effect often produced by statistics about concentration camps or war casualties. Although the congresses faithfully reflect each phase of Soviet history, they provide but a dim picture of what it was like to be a young man or woman growing up in the Komsomol between 1918 and 1954. The reader must imagine, or fill in from other sources, the impact of the Komsomol's party-directed decisions—in the positive sense as well as in terms of blighted spirits, frustrated minds, and ruined lives. Happily, Fisher is well aware that he has studied the instrument of control without examining the human consequences of its operation. While presenting his book as a pioneering study, as it is, he suggests that others may find it a useful springboard to the rest of the Komsomol story. It is the hope of this reviewer that Fisher himself will help carry forward this important work.

Michigan State University ARTHUR E. ADAMS

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NEAR EAST

THE ARAB FEDERALISTS OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE. By *Hassan Saab.* (Amsterdam: Djambatan. c. 1958. Pp. xii, 322.) What appears to be a doctoral dissertation might better have been left unpublished until the author had achieved perspective and could distill from his direct quotations (constituting from 40 to 50 per cent of the book) the essence of his subject. Moreover, the reader would be better prepared for the contents of the book had Hassan Saab called it simply "Arab Federalism," because he begins with pre-Islamic Arabia and devotes only one of his seven chapters to the federalists of the Ottoman period. Even with a revised title, the book would lack focus and coherence. Quotations and remarks upon conditions and ideas are interspersed with material on the nature of federalism and of society, ranging from Wheare through Machiavelli, Mosca and Sorokin to Toynbee, which constitute part of the author's education, but are often injected into his text in a naïve and incoherent fashion. The book's chief value for the reader who knows no Arabic are the materials from Arabic-language sources. Yet on his principal Arab federalists, the societies of *El-Kahtania* and *El-Ahd,* Hassan Saab appears to have added little to the *Arab Awakening* by Antonius, except to emphasize that the Austro-Hungarian dual monarchy was the favorite model of many Arab federalists. Moreover, the carelessness with which the book is printed as to both typographical accuracy and style, the misquotations which are obvious from the nonsense of some lines, and the handling of proper names (Djemal Pasha appears in the biblography under "Pasha, Djemal"!) leaves little confidence in the accuracy of excerpting and translation. Yet the author displays flashes of insight and understanding which suggest that after he has had a chance to reflect on his wide-ranging knowledge he should publish a much-needed study of the various and often conflicting current concepts of how Arab unity might be achieved—a sequel, perhaps, to the *Arab Awakening.*

Clark University DWIGHT E. LEE

JORDAN: A STATE OF TENSION. By *Benjamin Shwadran.* (New York: Council for Middle Eastern Affairs Press. 1959. Pp. xii, 436. $7.00.) The kingdom of Jordan has only recently begun to receive the attention which the larger Arab countries began to attract in the 1920's. Shwadran's book is one of the few devoted to Jordan and the first comprehensive history of the territory. The author treats Jordan's long history from the Stone Age to the Lebanese crisis of 1958 as one of alternation between beneficial utilization of natural resources, when internal security and peaceful relations with neighboring territories were assured, and economic decline (in the form of widespread nomadism), when stability and peace were lacking. The establishment of the British mandatory regime began a new phase in the cycle, one in which internal stability and close relations with western Palestine stimulated progress from the low level of nomadic domination. This normal process of growth was upset when King Abdullah annexed Arab Palestine after 1948. The average reader inevitably will be most interested in the narrative of Jordanian and general Arab political developments since 1941 which occupies one half of the book. The author emphasizes intra-Arab rivalries and is critical of British and American policies. Shwadran here deals mostly with the headline-making events and bases his treatment principally on newspaper reports and memoirs, notably those of Glubb, Eytan, and Kirkbride. He rarely attempts to evaluate such sources or to discuss their discrepancies. Consequently, not all readers will be persuaded of the correctness of his treatment. The absence of any reference to the Arab refugees in his discussion of the events of 1956–1957, for example, will be questioned by many, in view of the fact that contemporary press accounts laid great stress on the refugees (in my opinion, far too much stress). Even so, Shwadran has reduced a large mass of material

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to convenient form. Not many, moreover, will challenge his emphasis of intra-Arab rivalries, and his account of these is the most extensive one now available.

University of Illinois C. Ernest Dawn

FAR EAST

SOCIAL FORCES IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. By *Cora Du Bois.* (2d ed.; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1959. Pp. 77. $2.50.) These three lectures, first published in 1949, undertake to define basic anthropological concepts relevant to cultural change, to identify significant social factors discernible in Southeast Asia in the early 1940's, and to hazard predictions concerning the potentialities of these factors. Except for the addition of an explanatory second preface, the lectures are reproduced without alteration. The lectures afford many penetrating insights, but there appears to be no current justification for the republication without revision. A number of the author's affirmations in Chapter II are questionable: the absence of traditional nationalist sentiment, the alleged lack of popular respect for colonial administrators, the surprising statement that occupied countries were able "with very few adjustments" to return to their traditional subsistence economy, and the assumed popular acceptance "with deep trust and literalness" of Atlantic Charter and United Nations promises of independence, in the absence of corroborating commitments by colonial powers. Chapter III should have been rewritten. Unrealized predictions concerning the probable future vitality of constitutional government, an impending cultural revolution, a population explosion, and expanding economic development all call for correction. India's potential economic and cultural leadership is overstated. The current influence of Peking in Southeast Asia is greater than anticipated. The absence of Soviet interest has been belied by recent developments. From the perspective of 1959, the book is simply outdated; events have overwhelmed predictions.

Ohio University John F. Cady

INDO-PAKISTAN RELATIONS, 1947–1955. By *Jyoti Bhusan Das Gupta.* (Amsterdam: Djambatan. c. 1958. Pp. xii, 254. 35*s*.) In the foreword to this volume, which was originally written as a doctoral dissertation at the University of Amsterdam, Professor J. M. Romein, supervisor of the dissertation, expresses the view that the book "is so unbiased and therefore well-balanced . . . that I can imagine that, at first reading, neither Indians, nor Pakistanis, will be very pleased by it." This is an extremely misleading statement. As far as substance and approach are concerned, most Indians should be very much pleased with it, whereas few Pakistanis will like it. While the author has made a painstaking effort to be objective, his preconvictions show through on almost every page. After an introductory chapter on nationalism and communalism in Indian politics and the circumstances leading to the partition of the Indian subcontinent, the author discusses the problems of partition, with special attention to the disputes over Junagadh and Hyderabad, the Kashmir question (two chapters), the canal waters dispute and the evacuee property problem (one chapter each), with a final chapter on ideology, the minority problem, and foreign policy. The two chapters on Kashmir give a concise account of the pertinent facts, although they contain no new material or interpretations. In the text the author argues that "whatever the solution" for the Kashmir question, "Sheikh Abdullah's co-operation would be necessary for its successful implementation"; but in an author's note on the front flap he states that "Abdullah, frustrated and embittered as he is to-day, seems unwilling to give any constructive, non-communal lead to the people of the [*sic*] Kashmir." On the back flap he notes that in view of the political changes in Pakistan since October 1958, "the question of the

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plebiscite in Kashmir has become all the more complicated." He is convinced that "the bases of discord" between India and Pakistan are "essentially ideological," and that for the foreseeable future the best that can be hoped for is that "their relations should remain tolerable." The book lacks polish and sophistication. It is awkwardly written, and it has too many typographical and factual errors. It is slipshod in referring to the Ministry of States in India as "the Ministry of State" or "the State Ministry," to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan as "the Dominion Parliament," or to the famous Objectives Resolution approved by the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan in March 1949 as "an objective resolution." The great value of this brief book is that it is perhaps the most comprehensive treatment of Indo-Pakistan relations in the first eight years of independence. It summarizes succinctly the high lights of a story that is already quite familiar. It is thus a handy reference work, with a pro-Indian bias.

University of Pennsylvania NORMAN D. PALMER

UNITED STATES

RELIGION AND AMERICAN DEMOCRACY. By *Roy F. Nichols.* [Rockwell Lectures at the Rice Institute.] (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1959. Pp. vii, 108. $2.50.) The two lectures included in this book summarize the role of religion in American civilization. The first lecture discusses the European background of American Christianity, the growth of religious individualism in the late Middle Ages and the sixteenth century, and the foundation of the different American churches (including the Catholic Church in the Spanish borderlands as well as the different Protestant organizations), and emphasizes chiefly the factors contributing to religious diversity. The second lecture analyzes the continuing influence of Christian belief as a unifying and invigorating force in American politics and society, with special reference to the various reform movements of the early nineteenth century, and argues that the combination of evangelical fervor with optimistic views about human nature and society produced a distinctively American form of Christianity. Professor Nichols has covered much territory in a short space, and has given an admirably clear, comprehensive, and well-balanced survey of a complex subject. The discussion in his second lecture of nineteenth-century religious attitudes emphasizes significant aspects of American civilization that are too often underestimated, and will be of interest to professional historians as well as to the general readers to whom this book is primarily addressed.

New York University H. B. PARKES

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO INDIAN AFFAIRS, MAY 21, 1750–AUGUST 7, 1754. Edited by *William L. McDowell, Jr.* [Colonial Records of South Carolina, Series 2.] (Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department. 1958. Pp. xxii, 592. $12.50.) Students of the southern frontier have set great store by the surviving manuscript "Indian Books" in the South Carolina archives. Already published in this exemplary series are the journals of the Indian commissioners, 1710–1718; promised for future publication is the journal of the directors of the Cherokee trade, 1762–1765. The present volume (with another to follow for the period to 1760) has broader scope: it reproduces the entry books, kept by the clerk of the provincial council, of such records as letters, journals, and "talks," which document political as well as commercial dealings with the tribes of the widespread Carolina Indian system, and frequently illuminate intercolonial relations. The central figure is Governor James Glen: fussy, pompous, jealous for Carolina's hegemony over the southern Indians, but active and at times successful in Indian diplomacy, as in promoting peace between the Six Nations and the Catawba, and between the Creeks and Cherokees. This volume concludes with his hot-tempered

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exchanges with Dinwiddie in the mid-century crisis of security. They show him poorly informed and unrealistic in his skeptical appraisal of the French threat on the Ohio, stubbornly pressing his rival Carolina-based project to check the enemy on the Mississippi.

University of Michigan VERNER W. CRANE

THE ROYAL GOVERNORS OF GEORGIA, 1754–1775. By *W. W. Abbot.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture. c. 1959. Pp. vii, 198. $5.00.) This book paints in broad and convincing strokes the political history of colonial Georgia from the viewpoint of her three royal governors. It is concerned with big happenings and trends, not with minutiae. It does a very good job of depicting the governors, their possiblities and accomplishments, and their effect upon Georgia. John Reynolds, whom Georgians welcomed as their first governor in 1754, soon proved a complete failure. Enough of Reynolds' troubles are given to know why Georgians were so happy when Henry Ellis replaced him in 1757. Ellis, an explorer and brilliant dilettante, was able to charm Georgia Indians into peace and to end the factions that divided the white colonists before tiring of Georgia and asking to be relieved. James Wright, who followed Ellis in 1760 and remained until 1776, was experienced in colonial and English politics. His fifteen years were successful enough to give Georgia the economic and political maturity that was necessary to enable her to join the other colonies in revolt—the true, if unintended, success of royal government in Georgia. The main source used is the governors' official correspondence with their superiors in London. Legislative records and newspapers are used, but no real attempt has been made to throw additional light upon the governors as men or as officials. It is essentially the governors' own story told by them. This reviewer wonders if the proper historical balance is thus attained. There is no indication that the following collections—all of which are enlightening on Georgia in this period—have been used: the South Carolina and Georgia archives, the University of Georgia library, the PRO, CO 5 transcripts in the Library of Congress, or the *Colonial Records of North Carolina.* The main outlines of the story are well done, but a better balanced and more complete picture could have been presented with the use of more sources and with some consideration of additional happenings. This is a good book on the more neglected period of Georgia's colonial history, worthy of reading by anyone interested in Georgia or colonial history.

University of Georgia KENNETH COLEMAN

MYTHS AND MEN: PATRICK HENRY, GEORGE WASHINGTON, THOMAS JEFFERSON. By *Bernard Mayo.* [Eugenia Dorothy Blount Lamar Memorial Lectures, 1958.] (Athens: University of Georgia Press. c. 1959. Pp. xii, 71. $2.50.) In a Gallup Poll 48 per cent of American citizens knew that the schoolboy hero Patrick Henry said, "Give me liberty or give me death." But this figure, as Bernard Mayo notes, was "topped" by the 61 per cent who knew that Mae West said, "Come up and see me sometime." We need not only to disseminate more factual data on the lives of our founding fathers but also to create more balanced estimates of them. The latter task requires of the historian no little knowledge and judgment, and Mayo has undertaken it most successfully for three great Virginians: Washington, Jefferson, and Henry. He has removed misconceptions springing from "myths that defame and myths that glorify." The historical figures remaining are no less great for having risen above human failings. Mayo, a teacher in Mr. Jefferson's university and himself a Jefferson authority, appraises the Sage of Monticello in a convincing sketch. During his lifetime

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Jefferson had more than his share of bitter enemies, and a century later Secretary of State Frank B. ("Nervous Nellie") Kellogg was declaiming—at Charlottesville, mind you—that while Jefferson was a great man and all that, he was dangerously radical. Only in late years have Jefferson's admirers generally popularized the concept of him as the great liberal statesman and humanitarian. George Washington was so exalted by Parson Weems, Jared Sparks, and other superpatriotic writers that he seemed to Nathaniel Hawthorne to have been born with his clothes on and his hair powdered. In his own reappraisal based on careful study of early and more recent Washingtoniana, Mayo is perhaps a bit severe in stating that Washington was "only one-tenth able field commander" and "nine-tenths great administrator." But he makes us appreciate the common qualities carried to uncommon degree that constitute Washington's greatness. A new, full-length biography of Patrick Henry is now being completed. Meantime, it is not surprising that Mayo has underestimated the amount of Henry source material available. But Mayo does not fall into the error of certain Henry debunkers. He never, in eagerness to present new viewpoints, becomes unscholarly. He is always fair, candid, and—considering the scope of his material—remarkably informed. These rare qualities, along with his always felicitous style, lead us to hope for more additions to his already impressive list of historical writings.

Randolph-Macon Woman's College ROBERT DOUTHAT MEADE

THE NATION TAKES SHAPE, 1789–1837. By *Marcus Cunliffe*. [The Chicago History of American Civilization.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. c. 1959. Pp. vii, 222. $3.50.) In this provocative volume, Professor Cunliffe treats a crucial half century of American history in functional rather than in the familiar chronological terms. Tantalizingly brief discussions of government and politics, international relations, territorial and agricultural expansion, and commerce and industry supply the multicolored yarn from which the tapestry of history is woven in chapters on nationalism and sectionalism and on conservatism and democracy. These interpretive chapters expound but do not sufficiently explore nor adequately explain the divergent interests and beliefs that threatened time and again to shatter the Union before it was strong enough to cope with its own constituent members. To one who views them from across the Atlantic as Cunliffe does, the controversies of the Jefferson-Jackson period do not seem as earth-shaking as they did to those who took part in them. Yet the issues debated were often of more far-reaching significance than any of the proponents realized. Indeed, in one form or another some of those issues are still to be resolved. The dichotomy between states and nation; the varying and sometimes incompatible demands of sectional economies; most important of all, the enormous impact of the slavery question, which dominated American thinking in one way or another from the Missouri Compromise to the Civil War and has left still uneradicated scars, are treated too briefly even for so brief an essay as this. The final chapter is a recapitulation of trends and an analysis of paradoxes out of which comes a species of neo-Hegelian synthesis tentatively identified as the American character. In this final analysis, as in the book as a whole, one wishes that less had been attempted or that more space had been devoted to the task.

Washington, D. C. CHARLES M. WILTSE

ANDREW JACKSON AND NORTH CAROLINA POLITICS. By *William S. Hoffmann*. [James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science, Volume 40.] (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1958. Pp. 134. $2.50.) This chronicle of politics in North Carolina, 1824–1837, rests upon the not uncommon assumption that bits of external information strung out in chronological chains will add up to history when

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combined somehow with other such accumulations. The pity is not that the author avoids large questions and relations in his work—the grand manner clearly does not suit him—but rather that he fails to recapture a sense of North Carolina and its politics in the age of Jackson. There is a long parade of names and episodes and political slogans that will provide a serviceable outline to future students of the place and period. The names never become men; the episodes never reveal credible human drama; the slogans never elicit the ideas or concerns of an actual society. Perhaps the most important institutional growth of the period—the rise of modern party structures—is considered under the concocted term partisanism and is handled with slight grasp of the character and function of political institutions. Chapter IX nevertheless reports interesting data on the effects of a popular party system in giving a political lever to the western counties for enlarging their representation. The writer's attempt to explain these events and relate them to the rising power of the Whigs breaks down in circularity. His most serious contribution, first sketched in an earlier article, is the argument that Jacksonian Democracy collapsed in North Carolina under the weight of an unpopular land policy—opposition to distribution—thus opening the way to Whig supremacy for the next decade and a half. There is some circumstantial plausibility to his case, but little firm evidence and less rigorous analysis. The author seems not to feel, as the reviewer does, that a major political turnabout—the "weak" Van Buren after all drew more than 53 per cent of the popular vote in North Carolina as late as 1836—requires an explanation proportionate to the weight of the problem. This is an unpretentious, conscientious monograph. To be so severe with it is to say that students like Mr. Hoffmann who work their way through extensive manuscript and newspaper sources owe their readers something that is both important and scarce: a view in depth of local political life in nineteenth-century America.

University of Chicago MARVIN MEYERS

MODERN REVIVALISM: CHARLES GRANDISON FINNEY TO BILLY GRAHAM. By *William G. McLoughlin, Jr.* (New York: Ronald Press Company. c. 1959. Pp. vii, 551. $6.50.) This book offers a scholarly analysis of that part of the American evangelical tradition associated with professional revivalists in the years from 1825 to the present. The method of organization is biographical, and each of the major revivalists and a number of less well-known ones are taken up in turn. The first two chapters, totaling over a hundred pages, deal with Charles G. Finney, whom the author regards as the founder of "modern revivalism." Colonial revivalists had operated on the theory that religious awakenings were miraculous in origin, while Finney assumed that they could be worked up through "the right use of means." The next major figure treated is Dwight L. Moody, who made revivalism a "big business" as Finney had made it a profession. Moody's tours of the British Isles as well as his famous meetings in major American cities are discussed in considerable detail. Among sketches of lesser figures perhaps the most interesting is that of B. Fay Mills, who attempted to combine the social gospel with revivalism in the progressive period. The work of Billy Sunday, in whose hands revivals became "dramatic performances," is the subject of another long chapter; Sunday's career was covered much more fully in an excellent book by the same author published in 1955. Billy Graham is the subject of the last major sketch. The author subscribes to the cyclical theory of revivalism and offers some valuable interpretive suggestions regarding factors conducive to religious awakenings. Fearless in evaluating the results of professional revivalism, he concludes that it has had little to do with social reform in America and that it has not even added appreciably to the numerical growth of church membership. The tone of the book is quite unsympathetic to the

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revivalists; some may feel it is unjustly so. An outstanding feature of the study is its constant attention to interconnections between revivalism and such major themes of American intellectual history as nationalism, individualism, progress, and perfectibility. The relationship of revivalism to other aspects of religious history, such as millenarianism and higher criticism of the Bible, is also explored. The work is based on fresh research in primary sources and makes a significant contribution to our knowledge of American religious development. Readers may wish to compare it with another good new book dealing with the same subject, Bernard A. Weisberger's *They Gathered at the River* (1958).

Pennsylvania State University IRA V. BROWN

THE DIARIES AND LETTERS OF HENRY H. SPALDING AND ASA BOWEN SMITH RELATING TO THE NEZ PERCE MISSION, 1838–1842. With introductions and editorial notes by *Clifford Merrill Drury*. [Northwest Historical Series, Volume IV.] (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1958. Pp. 379. $12.50 postpaid.) Reverend Drury has added substantially to the printed sources available for the study of early Indian-white relations in the Pacific Northwest. The letters and journals of Asa B. Smith, the diary of Henry H. Spalding, and the numerous commentaries of those associated with these men in the effort to bring Christianity to the Nez Perce between 1838 and 1847 shed light upon the character of the missionaries, their problems and contentions. They should prove valuable to students of religious and political history. The author's own comments—interesting, lengthy, and repetitious—show pronounced bias toward Spalding. They contain disputable statements of fact and judgment which necessitate using this portion of the book with care. These things should not, however, obscure the importance of the rest of the volume.

University of Idaho SIEGFRIED B. ROLLAND

VOGUES IN VILLAINY: CRIME AND RETRIBUTION IN ANTE-BELLUM SOUTH CAROLINA. By *Jack Kenny Williams*. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1959. Pp. viii, 191. $5.00.) This study of crime in South Carolina is based on an analysis of ten thousand indictments, on court records, newspaper accounts, the papers of lawyers, and travel accounts, as well as an adequate coverage of secondary works. It is an almost unique study of southern crime, and presents in a lively and at times witty style the conclusions that seem justified by the evidence. The author gives depth and relevance to his work by comparisons with conditions in South Carolina today. The most striking differences are a great change in the mode of punishment and a contrast between the leniency of antebellum juries and modern juries. The death penalty was prescribed for 165 crimes in 1813 and twenty-two in 1850. Although the pillory and branding were abolished by 1833, the whipping post and public hangings were retained throughout the antebellum period. The severity of the law undoubtedly explains largely why only 39 per cent of the defendants tried by juries were convicted, whereas more than 90 per cent of those indicted in 1950 were convicted. Professor Williams points out also that the power of the oratory of lawyers was very great in those days, an important factor in the low rate of convictions. The general conservatism of the state was reflected in its failure to build a penitentiary or seriously to reform its penal code until 1868. Perhaps the author should have gone more deeply into the question of whether the poor man received equal justice with the rich man, but he does indicate that in their punishment of crime judges and juries were decidedly class conscious.

University of Kentucky CLEMENT EATON

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PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND MORAL EDUCATION: THE INFLUENCE OF HORACE MANN, WILLIAM TORREY HARRIS AND JOHN DEWEY. By *Neil Gerard McCluskey, S. J.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1958. Pp. xii, 315. $6.00.) This volume treats the problems of moral and religious education in the public school. The three main parts are analyses of solutions for these problems posed by Horace Mann, William T. Harris, and John Dewey, together with discussions of their philosophies. These essays are penetrating and remarkably free from contention. Not until he gets well into the section on Dewey does the author argue as he presents his analysis. He has used well the writings of his subjects and those of both critics and supporters. (He does seem unaware of the Horace Mann League and the fact that it has published facsimile editions of Mann's *Annual Reports*.) In a final section, McCluskey concludes that "the problem of moral education in the common public school . . . is insoluble"; under the interpretation of religious freedom now generally accepted it is "impossible to preserve any kind of traditional religion in the schools"; "the value philosophies espoused by these three men have led to the widespread elimination of religion from today's public schools"; "character education in the public schools is circumscribed by the purely secular order"; and unless the present pattern is modified by compromise, a growing percentage of parents will place their children in nonpublic schools so that they may secure some religious orientation. It seems implicit in the last conclusion that the first two are not final. Probably the author ascribes greater influence to the three educators than they exerted. The secularization of the American public school would have come about without their help. It was forced by the multiplying sects themselves and by the growing influence of Catholicism and Judaism. Before the Horace Mann controversies of 1844, the Catholic bishops of America had viewed with alarm the sectarian nature of public education. One has only to read the reviews of school textbooks in the *Catholic University Bulletin* and the *Catholic Historical Review* to find twentieth-century demands that sectarian religion be taken out of public education, demands obviously not traceable to Mann, Harris, or Dewey. This is a thoughtful, dispassionate book. The problem with which it deals will become increasingly critical in the years ahead.

Duke University WILLIAM H. CARTWRIGHT

BILL SUBLETTE: MOUNTAIN MAN. By *John E. Sunder*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. c. 1959. Pp. xv, 279. $5.00.) A better title for this latest biography of a nineteenth-century fur trader would be *Bill Sublette: Businessman*. His interest in peltries appears to have played only a supporting role to a number of economic activities that included merchandising, banking, land speculation, progressive farming, and the operation of a health resort. These, in turn, made his name sufficiently prominent for him to participate, with only sporadic success, in Missouri politics. Sublette's wide variety of business deals, his formation of various partnerships, and his frequent appeals to the law to urge payment from his debtors left behind a great number of official records which have been painstakingly ferreted out by the author. The account weakens noticeably the minute Sublette leaves St. Louis for one of his periodic trips to the plains and mountains in search of enough quick money in beaver plews to strengthen financial matters back home. In the main, descriptions of these journeys are taken from well-known, much-used sources and with every westward mile the reader is increasingly aware that both author and his subject scarcely can wait to return to more interesting things. This is understandable, for Sublette was essentially a businessman, and it is around this pursuit that Mr. Sunder quite ably has woven a very readable story.

University of Colorado ROBERT G. ATHEARN

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PRESCOTT AND HIS PUBLISHERS. By *C. Harvey Gardiner.* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press. c. 1959. Pp. x, 342. $5.95.) Seldom do we have opportunity to form a detailed picture of the business side of a great historian and of his reactions as he sees his works through the process of publication, distribution, sales, and critical reception. In this study, Gardiner follows Prescott step by step as he sends his manuscripts to the publisher, makes his financial arrangements, and concerns himself with stimulating interest in and sales of his classic works. Gardiner writes with such intimate knowledge and sympathy of these aspects of Prescott's activities that matters which might only too easily be taken for granted come very much alive. Furthermore, through Prescott's experiences with his publishers, we obtain an excellent picture of the publishing trade of the period in the United States and England. Although Prescott first entered into contact with his publishers with some misgivings, since to many authors of his period they represented "the slippery trade," his relationships with them were good. In all he concluded contracts with six publishers, four in the United States (including Little, Brown and Company and Harper and Brothers) and two in England (Bentley and Routledge). On the financial side, Gardiner estimates that Prescott's gross income from his works was approximately $100,000, of which the sum of $15,000 came from British editions. Prescott approached publication with the same care and discernment that he displayed in research and writing. He had a keen awareness of his works as literary property, and his aesthetic sense and perfectionism required that he design his own books. He spared no effort to obtain the best possible engravings as illustrations and paid great attention to preparation of his maps. Gardiner points out that Prescott was probably his own best promoter. He carefully systematized the promotion of his works, seeking the aid and advice of friends such as George Bancroft and seeing that review copies reached both influential individuals and periodicals. Along with the detailed picture of his publishing activities, Gardiner shows us other aspects of Prescott's life and aspirations, the society in which he moved, the constant enlargement of his circle of friends, his desire, as an American historian, to win recognition in Europe, and his triumphal visit to England in 1850, when he moved in the highest literary and noble circles. Gardiner has given us in very readable fashion and on the basis of research in a wide range of sources a book that adds much insight into one of our greatest historians.

Alexandria, Virginia ROBERT S. CHAMBERLAIN

WILLIAM HICKLING PRESCOTT: A MEMORIAL. Edited by *Howard F. Cline, C. Harvey Gardiner,* and *Charles Gibson.* (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1959. Pp. 179. $3.00.) This clothbound edition of the February 1959 issue of the *Hispanic American Historical Review,* dedicated to the memory of Prescott on the centenary of of his death, has been published to make possible a wider circulation. It contains articles, evaluating Prescott's work from differing points of view, by R. A. Humphreys, University College, London, David Levin, English Department, Stanford University, Guillermo Lohmann Villena, University of San Marcos and Catholic University of America, and C. Harvey Gardiner, Southern Illinois University. These four articles by contemporary specialists are all of high quality. Also included in the volume is "A Checklist of Prescott Manuscripts" by Jerry E. Patterson of Columbia University and a section containing fourteen reviews of Prescott's major works written by mid-nineteenth-century critics for American and European journals. Some of Prescott's reactions to these reviews are also included. By bringing together the evaluations of critics of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries this volume throws into relief the differing concepts of history prevalent in the two periods. It also makes clear that although critics of both periods

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saw faults in Prescott's work, in general they agreed on his high standards of scholarship and his excellence as a stylist. The volume, therefore, is both a valuable contribution to historiography and a tribute to Prescott.

University of California, Los Angeles ROBERT N. BURR

THE VICTOR AND THE SPOILS: A LIFE OF WILLIAM L. MARCY. By *Ivor Debenham Spencer.* (Providence, R. I.: Brown University Press. 1959. Pp. xii, 438. $8.00.) William Learned Marcy was born in Sturbridge, Massachusetts, December 12, 1786. Educated at Brown University, he studied law, was admitted to the bar, and settled in Troy, New York, an able, contentious, and decidedly vocal Jeffersonian Republican. He took a prominent part in organizing the Regency, that superb political machine which dominated New York State politics in the 1820's and much of the 1830's. The Regency sent Marcy to the United States Senate in 1831, where he showed himself a loyal Jacksonian Democrat. It was there he made the famous statement that "to the victor belong the spoils of the enemy," although Professor Spencer shows that Marcy himself was not an ultraspoilsman. In 1832 the Regency made Marcy governor of the state of New York, in which post he supported hard money, internal improvements, and regulation of the state banking system. Marcy turned toward conservatism in the 1830's. He had no use for the Locofocos and disliked, though he finally accepted, the Independent Treasury. He opposed the "stop and tax" movement of the New York Democracy in the early 1840's on the sensible ground that the credit of the state had not been seriously impaired by Whig expenditures. He was a conservative Democrat, a "Hunker," and was at odds with the Van Buren wing of the Democracy by 1844. Polk took him into his cabinet, thereby angering the followers of Van Buren. As Secretary of War under Polk, Marcy showed little imagination, but he was not as politically petty as the President. The split in the New York Democracy probably kept him from the Democratic presidential nomination in 1848 and, though he was an active contender in 1852 for the same honor, it went to a dark horse, Franklin K. Pierce of New Hampshire. Marcy was Secretary of State under Pierce. In that post he frowned upon fire-eaters like Pierre Soulé, guided the negotiations in the Gadsden Purchase, and conducted careful negotiations with England on a variety of matters. A moderate expansionist, he disliked filibustering and the extravagances of the Manifest Destiny cult. In this office he showed moderation, wisdom, and vision. Spencer ranks him in the State Department with Webster, Seward, and Hamilton Fish, a ranking that is well deserved. Spencer has written a good book. This is not to say that it is perfect. It has only a bibliographical note on source materials (although it is well footnoted), and a disproportionate amount of space (186 out of 415 pages) is given to Marcy's four years as Secretary of State. But "Big Bill" Marcy, over six feet and weighing more than two hundred pounds, witty, affable, possessed of great personal charm and much sound judgment, contentious, too much a "regular" party man, but an able and conscientious administrator, is clearly brought out in these pages. After this careful and painstaking delineation of Marcy's career, it is not likely that another biography of Marcy will be undertaken for many years to come.

University of Rochester GLYNDON G. VAN DEUSEN

THE TRANSCENDENTALIST MINISTERS: CHURCH REFORM IN THE NEW ENGLAND RENAISSANCE. By *William R. Hutchison.* [Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany 71.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1959. Pp. xvii, 240. $4.50.) In 1876, when Octavius Brooks Frothingham prepared the first major study of New England transcendentalism, he referred to it as a form of "mental philosophy," and traced its ancestry back to Immanuel Kant. He acknowledged that it had developed

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chiefly within Unitarianism, but he dismissed as "narrow" the notion that it was essentially a religious movement. More recent scholars have been inclined to agree rather with Perry Miller that it was a "religious demonstration" but they have been slow to examine it from that point of view, using the skills and equipment of the church historian or historian of religious ideas. It is the great merit of Mr. Hutchison's book that it does approach its subject from this point of view, and takes seriously the fact that most of the leading transcendentalists were Unitarian ministers, concerned with such theological problems as revelation, creedalism, and the nature of the church. Hence it brings back into focus the religious issues at stake in the transcendentalist controversy, and lays the basis for a reappraisal of the transcendentalist achievement in such fields as literature, philosophy, and social reform. Although the author's main concern is the transcendentalist group, he has taken a fresh look as well at the conservative Unitarianism against which they were revolting. He is shrewd enough to recognize that our familiar image of "Boston Unitarianism," constructed by literary historians out of the accusations of a rebellious younger generation, does it less than justice, and he deftly replaces the traditional stereotype with a more believable picture. In terms of proper emphasis and balance as well as of sound scholarship, this is a wholly admirable book, which fully deserves the Brewer Prize awarded to it by the American Society of Church History.

Harvard Divinity School CONRAD WRIGHT

THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY, 1858–1958. By *Howard L. Adelson.* (New York: American Numismatic Society. 1958. Pp. x, 390. $15.00.) The decade before the Civil War witnessed the formation of a number of small groups or societies devoted to numismatic and antiquarian studies. The American Numismatic Society was one of these, and it is the only one that has grown into a great international organization dedicated to all aspects of the study of coins, currency, and medals. Adelson's book traces the fortunes of the Society in lively, well-written, and fully documented fashion, from the first meetings in the lower-Manhattan home of Augustus B. Sage to the completion of a permanent home on Audubon Terrace off upper Broadway (1908) and thence to the multifold activities of the present. The question of a permanent home had been the most difficult one facing the Society in its first fifty years. In 1899, without any special notice, an event occurred "of the most crucial significance for the future history of the Society." Archer M. Huntington "joined a small local numismatic society and with his vision and force as well as his material resources built it into a great institution." He served as president from 1903 to 1909, but his great gifts in all ways to the institutions on Audubon Terrace extended throughout the years to his death in 1955. Such activity so often attracts other persons of intellect, ability, and wealth. In Edward T. Newell, president from 1916 until his untimely death in 1941, the Society found a great scholar, collector-curator, and benefactor. The examples of these two men have been admirably perpetuated in the present officers and staff of the Society. Adelson's history makes it clear that, from the first struggles to keep the Society alive after the Civil War, activities often reached beyond those of a small, local institution. The striking of a medal to honor Abraham Lincoln attracted much notice in the years 1865 to 1870. The feud between Gaston L. Feuardent, American representative of the renowned antiquarian firm of Rollin and Feuardent, and General Luigi Palma di Cesnola, director of the Metropolitan Museum, over the Cypriot antiquities sold by the latter to the Metropolitan makes exciting reading for the years 1878 to 1884. Feuardent was a prominent member of the Society, and the feud became almost institutional. The true crisis in the affairs of the American Numismatic Society came in 1904, on the eve of the great era

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of expansion. Some of the officers nearly engineered the absorption of the Society by the New-York Historical Society, an act which would have killed the possibilities of a major, independent organization sponsoring numismatic studies. Adelson's book handles these and many other events in a way that shows their importance in realms of American history, beyond a mere recording of the growth of an important institution.

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston CORNELIUS C. VERMEULE III

QUARTERMASTER GENERAL OF THE UNION ARMY: A BIOGRAPHY OF M. C. MEIGS. By *Russell F. Weigley.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1959. Pp. x, 396. $7.50.) Before a meeting of the Civil War Round Table in Washington several years ago, Allan Nevins declared that there probably was only one really important figure of the Civil War who had not yet had a biography written about him. Russell F. Weigley has corrected that oversight. Much of this biography is based primarily on the hitherto largely unused Meigs Papers at the Library of Congress, the use of which is made all the more difficult by reason of the General's execrable handwriting. Drawing upon the personal data in this collection, Weigley, in the course of describing family background, West Point schooling, initial military assignments, and later notable achievements in constructing the Washington Aqueduct and supervising the building of additions to the Capitol and the Post Office, has successfully brought to life a portrait of Meigs—this man of ambition, dedicated to the service of his country, possessed of great integrity, an acute sense of duty, and an unbounded confidence in his own rectitude. Weigley is less successful in depicting Quartermaster supply operations of the Civil War, which necessarily must be the heart of any Meigs biography. The Meigs Papers offer little insight into the activities of the Quartermaster General, and the best source, the collection of Quartermaster records at the National Archives, is dismissed as dealing in minutiae. Only limited use is made of the archival material; great reliance is placed on the annual reports of the Quartermaster General. These generally offer useful summaries of accomplishments, but are not a source for Meigs's "administrative methods and thought processes." The organization of the Civil War chapters, with their blending of field and rear area operations, is such as to leave the reader with a confused impression of supply. The problems of demobilization, reconstruction, and others that confronted Meigs during the seventeen years he spent as Quartermaster General after the war until his retirement in 1882 are briefly summarized in some thirty pages. If the supply chapters are disappointing and give evidence that much more work remains to be done on the logistics of the Civil War, this pleasingly written biography makes a worthwhile contribution in characterizing a long-ignored key figure of that war.

Department of Defense ERNA RISCH

THE LIFE OF MR. JUSTICE CLARKE: A TESTAMENT TO THE POWER OF LIBERAL DISSENT IN AMERICA. By *Hoyt Landon Warner.* (Cleveland, Ohio: Western Reserve University Press. 1959. Pp. ix, 232. $5.00.) This biography of John Hessin Clarke is a result of the author's extensive study of the progressive movement in Ohio. It is the first major study of this influential figure in American liberal thought and action from the early 1880's to 1945. In a full career of over sixty years, Clarke was an owner and editor throughout his adult life of the *Youngstown Vindicator,* one of Ohio's best newspapers, a prominent corporation and railroad attorney, a disciple of Tom L. Johnson and of Woodrow Wilson, an effective member of the liberal wing of the Democratic party, a champion of labor and of any fight against bigotry, a respected interpreter of sociological jurisprudence as a federal district judge and as a Supreme Court justice, an ardent proponent of the League of Nations and president of the League

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of Nations Non-Partisan Association, and an enthusiastic supporter of Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal. Professor Warner has examined all the known literature and unpublished sources applicable to his subject and has ferreted out a number of previously unused manuscript collections and interviewed many persons contemporary with Clarke to produce a penetrating biography and a distinct contribution to the historiography of American liberalism.

Ohio Historical Society JAMES H. RODABAUGH

W. E. B. DUBOIS: NEGRO LEADER IN A TIME OF CRISIS. By *Francis L. Broderick*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1959. Pp. xiii, 259. $5.00.) By the time he reached the age of eighty in 1948, W. E. B. DuBois had left behind him a wealth of biographical material. Even then he had not finished. As a "resilient octogenarian," he has run for the United States Senate, endured the rigors of a lengthy court trial, and continued his writing and speechmaking. Since he is now over ninety, it is presumably safe to assume that even the indestructible DuBois will add no further careers to the succession chronicled by Francis L. Broderick. This book is not, however, a mere chronicle. Applying an easy style and a gift for trenchant analysis to a thorough knowledge of his material, Broderick has produced a highly readable and scholarly intellectual biography. A forceful, persuasive, and at times eloquent writer, DuBois has beguiled most commentators into assessing him at his own heroic estimate. Successfully resisting, for the most part, the temptation to be led down the same path, Broderick cites DuBois' weaknesses without subtracting from his great contribution as the principal and most effective spokesman for Negro rights during the important years from 1910 to 1934. The author does tend to accept DuBois' exaggerated view of himself in his running battle with Booker T. Washington. It is very doubtful that Washington was ever "frightened" by DuBois' attacks or "apprehensive for his role as leader." It is questionable, too, to speak in terms of DuBois' "victory" in the contest. Both the economic power advocated by Washington as the primary means to race advancement and the political power advocated by DuBois have provided major leverages in the Negro's rise thus far. On the other hand, Broderick handles with special skill DuBois' uneasy entente and eventual disillusionment with the Progressives. He deals equally well with his subject's abortive but prophetic attempt during the 1920's to weld a world alliance of color through his Pan-African movement. The pace of the book inevitably slows during the final chapters—inevitably, because so much of what has happened to DuBois since his "great years" as editor of the *Crisis* and a power in the NAACP has been anticlimax. The ideological wanderings and inconsistencies of the past twenty-five years have cost the old warrior his audience and his significance. Until now there has been no satisfactory treatment of the man who, in Broderick's words, was the heir of Frederick Douglass and the successor to Booker T. Washington. This one is more than satisfactory.

Mary Baldwin College SAMUEL R. SPENCER, JR.

SIX DAYS OR FOREVER? TENNESSEE *V.* JOHN THOMAS SCOPES. By *Ray Ginger*. (Boston: Beacon Press. 1958. Pp. 258. $3.95.) This study deals with the celebrated case of John Thomas Scopes *versus* the sovereign state of Tennessee. Although the scene is laid in Dayton and the cast includes all the well-known characters, the import of the book and its subject transcends the immediate events and their immediate consequences. The substance of modern science and ancient religion is not really central. Charles Darwin moves clandestinely in the background. William Jennings Bryan strides pompously in the foreground. But Bryan and Scopes are understudies, not principals. If

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the earth spoke to Bryan, it spoke in a language as foreign to the "Great Commoner" as Aramaic. And if Bryan could not understand Lyell, Darrow could not understand Santayana. The one was as insensitive to the Christian epic as the other was insensitive to the epic of evolution. Dostoevsky's Grand Inquisitor moves through these pages as he moves through life. The theme of this book is not the theory of evolution but the theory of democracy. Politics may be found in the antievolution law, in the Dayton courtroom, in the speeches to the crowd. There are the persistent democratic problems of leadership, of majority rule, of experts, of popular education. Yet the problem posed is not simply that of "expertise" and general ignorance, between learned scientists and untutored laymen or the provinces which legitimately belong to the one or to the other. Nor is the problem merely one of democratic leadership in its dual role of leading and being led. The problem is the irrepressible forces of culture and personality beneath the surface of democratic conflict. The issue that agitated Dayton and the rest of the world was never solved. It was resolved. Such clashes are in large part clashes among surrogates representing deeper irresolutions in the individuals who make up mankind.

Sarah Lawrence College BERT JAMES LOEWENBERG

THE ARMY AND ECONOMIC MOBILIZATION. By *R. Elberton Smith.* [U. S. Army in World War II: The War Department.] (Washington, D. C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army. 1959. Pp. xxv, 749. $5.25.) This volume is intended to provide the reader with a fund of knowledge that will enable him to understand the complex tasks associated with Army procurement and economic mobilization in World War II. The author's purpose is effectively accomplished by his orderly presentation of a wealth of factual data and by his keenly analytical summary observations that give the reader an insight regarding the significance and meaning of these data in relation to the total mobilization program of World War II. The broad substantive issues of Army procurement and the basic policies and procedures developed to meet these issues are clearly and skillfully described. Some individual topics within major subject categories are treated in broad chronological fashion, but the volume as a whole is presented in topical rather than narrative form. In the preparation of this study, Dr. Smith fortunately had available the results of many special studies already published—some military and some civilian in origin—covering many aspects of this country's economic mobilization experience during the war. Among these is *Industrial Mobilization for War* (1947) which recounts the tasks of the War Production Board and its predecessor agencies from 1940 through 1945 in coordinating the over-all war production program. Smith's volume contributes a good general account, hitherto lacking, of the Army's very significant role in achieving this program. It is one in the series of official studies which include other studies on particular aspects of the War Department's military supply role in the strategy of global war. The concluding chapter of the present volume is especially noteworthy. Here the author puts in bold relief the frustrations of prewar planning and rearmament, and the Army's wartime efforts to cope with problems of military requirements, procurement, expansion of facilities, and demobilization. His appraisal of the Army's record in these fields, done with considerable objectivity, takes into account the economic consequences of the war as well as the success of wartime policies in achieving victory. The partnership of government, industry, and labor in the outcome of World War II is fully recognized. World War II, Smith thinks, may well turn out to be the last war of the "classical" type envisioned by industrial mobilization planners from 1920 to 1940. Certainly, as he says, an enemy nuclear attack on this country could render the successful prescriptions and advantageous consequences associated with World War II almost totally inapplicable. In the circumstances,

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he ventures to conjecture that we cannot accept World War II concepts of industrial mobilization as an adequate substitute for military power "in being," nor in the atomic age can victory in war be considered an acceptable alternative to the prevention of war. The implications of these considerations would seem to call for a bold new approach to economic mobilization preparedness—one calculated to deter aggression, but one that will assure our survival as a nation should deterrence fail. This approach requires the taking of positive preattack survival actions and preattack planning for the effective postattack utilization of national resources for human survival and for restoration of the national economy in a postattack period.

Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization GEORGE W. AUXIER

THE ARMY AIR FORCES IN WORLD WAR II. Volume VII, SERVICES AROUND THE WORLD. Edited by *Wesley Frank Craven* and *James Lea Cate*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1958. Pp. lii, 666. $8.50.) This volume is the seventh and last in the series published by the Air Force on the history of its predecessor, the Army Air Forces, during World War II. The entire series is indispensable to anyone who wishes to understand the development of American air power and many of the current attitudes of the United States Air Force, which are firmly rooted in its past. The first five volumes deal primarily with operations, and the sixth covers the important question of top organization, acquisition of planes and equipment, and procurement and training of personnel. The seventh takes up a number of disparate topics under the subtitle "Services around the World." Almost half of the volume is devoted to the Air Transport Command and another section gives the history of the AAF Weather Service and the Army Airways Communication System, all three true services created and developed during the conflict. With the aviation engineers and the medical service, the heads of the Army Air Forces were not nearly so successful in obtaining the autonomy within the War Department that they sought as the prelude to complete independence. The same drive toward freedom from outside control can also be discerned in the chapters on morale, air-sea rescue, and women in the Army Air Forces. A final section discusses redeployment and demobilization, confirming what any veteran already knows, that demobilization was a mess. Aside from the fact that the term "service" has been stretched pretty far to cover some of these topics, the reader should be aware that this volume, like the others in the series, does not include the whole history even of American military aviation during the conflict. The authors, many of whom served in the Army Air Forces, have written almost entirely from the files of that organization and have absorbed its viewpoint. These statements are not so much a matter of criticism as of fact. Those who conceived the series and those who edited its volumes and wrote its chapters set out to record the history not of the Navy or the Army or of civil aviation but solely of the Army Air Forces. This objective has been achieved, and historians in many fields will be grateful.

Department of Defense HENRY M. DATER

PROFILE IN BLACK AND WHITE: A FRANK PORTRAIT OF SOUTH CAROLINA. By *Howard H. Quint*. (Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press. c. 1958. Pp. vii, 214. $4.50.) This excellent survey of South Carolina's reaction to the school desegregation decisions is based primarily upon examination of four major daily newspapers in the state. After a brief chapter of historical background and a discussion of the Clarendon County case, it treats in greater detail the emergence of patterns of resistance and obfuscation, the attitudes of Negroes, the doctrine of interposition, the political uses of segregation, the sectional overtones of the issue, and the thus far ineffective minority

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of white "Collaborators, Eggheads, Do-Gooders, and Appeasers." Despite the author's sharp edge of impatience with arguments so illogical and inconsistent "that sometimes one is obliged to question not only the sincerity but the intelligence" of segregationists, he counsels "patience, understanding and tolerance" among nonsoutherners. Because for the most part he permits South Carolinians, white and Negro, to speak for themselves, the book is an extremely valuable source of information on Deep South attitudes. The grimness of the situation is relieved only by the increased financial support for Negro schools that has come from a belated effort to comply with Plessy *v.* Ferguson. It is an unhappy commentary on the intensity of feelings that Professor Quint's collaborator, a young native southerner, preferred to remain anonymous, and that Quint himself has left the state university.

University of North Carolina GEORGE B. TINDALL

LATIN AMERICA

ARISTOTLE AND THE AMERICAN INDIANS: A STUDY IN RACE PREJUDICE IN THE MODERN WORLD. By *Lewis Hanke*. (London: Hollis and Carter. 1959. Pp. x, 164. 18*s*.) Lewis Hanke has long been renowned as a leading, if not the foremost champion of Bartolomé de las Casas and of the causes for which that doughty Dominican bishop fought. The present provocatively titled work is primarily concerned with the great debate of 1550 in which Las Casas and Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda engaged. The two debated the licitness of Spain's conquest and subjugation of the Indian nations. Las Casas, of course, defended his beloved charges; Sepúlveda, basing his argument on Aristotle's doctrine of the natural slave, gave the crown a relatively free hand. The special tribunal before which the two argued never decided the issue, probably for political rather than theoretical reasons. The controversy has since been taken up by the historians of the era. Hanke, who has ably defended Las Casas in previous volumes, now turns his attention to those who would mitigate Sepúlveda's views. To confirm his position, the author publishes in an appendix two previously inedited letters of Sepúlveda to Alfonso de Castro. The two closing chapters consider the conflict between the two schools since 1550 in Spain, in the New World, and elsewhere. While Hanke has presented his arguments succinctly and skillfully, this reviewer would question two basic lapses. First, considering the nature of the subject, a more complete volume could have been done. That this was possible is evident from the penetrating and far-reaching comments found in the copious notes. Secondly, the title is not wholly representative of the work. One who is somewhat familiar with scholastic philosophy, in which Sepúlveda was steeped and in which Las Casas must have had some training, misses a discussion of the refinements and rejections with which the Aristotelian schoolmen interpreted "The Philosopher."

Georgetown University GEORGE C. A. BOEHRER

COMMUNISM IN GUATEMALA, 1944–1954. By *Ronald M. Schneider*. With a foreword by *Arthur P. Whitaker*. [Foreign Policy Research Institute, University of Pennsylvania, Number 7.] (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1959. Pp. xxi, 350. $6.00.) Tracing the policies, personalities, and powers of the Guatemalan Communist party through the adventures leading to the overthrow of President Jacobo Arbenz in 1954 is the complex task of this book. The research is largely based on documents seized after the succession to power of the late Carlos Castillo Armas, so that the author is able to handle his subject with a wealth of intimate detail concerning names, places, dates, and words spoken or written, sometimes even in confidence. This richness gives ample

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substance to the statement on the history of the Communist party itself, and the following analyses of the relationships between Communists and the trade-unions, the government, other parties then in the government bloc of the period concerned, and front organizations. These chapters are the heart of the book; they are prefaced by a careful summary statement of recent Guatemalan history and followed by a chapter on the international aspects of Guatemalan Communism and a baleful epilogue. As a microcosmic study the book is very successful. The obviously exhaustive and completely reliable research makes this work definitive concerning the internal workings of the Communist party, its avowed aims, and its methods of operation. As a macrocosmic investigation of the reasons for the growth of Communism, how it fit into the temper of the times, its effectiveness or ineffectiveness in leaving lasting traces, and ultimately the reasons for its failure, there is much to be desired, even though all these subjects are treated. The author would have been better advised to isolate the larger questions or leave them only indicated, for in that area he must depend on secondary materials which on comparison do not fare well against the admirable primary sources available to him for the examination of the party itself. The weakness of the general data is not compensated for by imaginative theoretical speculation. The maldistribution of reliable data is clearly exemplified by the section entitled "Why Arbenz Fell," in which no mention at all is made of the possible interest of Honduras, Nicaragua, and the United States in the revolutionary proceedings. Although the broader aspects of the appeals of Communism to Latin Americans continue to need more refined study, this book has ably chinked in an important and controversial area. It will appear with eminent justification in many future footnotes and bibliographies.

Tulane University K. H. Silvert

CENTRAL AMERICA: THE CRISIS AND THE CHALLENGE. By *John D. Martz.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. c. 1959. Pp. ix, 356. $7.50.) This book will annoy the specialist although it may interest the general reader. It is not a history and does not tell enough of the politics or economics of the different countries to provide a scholarly analysis of the situation. Using principally press reports, it merely attempts to tell what happened in Central America since the end of World War II. To the extent that this modest aim is attained, the work is of value, given the dearth of books in English on the general subject. The subtitle indicates a more ambitious secondary objective: to enter into a discussion of United States foreign policy. Here the author is not only on more controversial ground but he is more vulnerable because of the observable gaps in his preparation of the Central American account. His observations on foreign policy, however, contain much truth, which other writers have also stated.

Gainesville, Florida Robert E. McNicoll

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Bernard J. Holm

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Historical News

American Historical Association

The Annual Meeting of the Association will be held, as previously announced, December 28–30, 1959, at the Conrad Hilton Hotel in Chicago.

From the Fund for the Advancement of Education the Association has obtained a grant of $140,000 to continue the Service Center for Teachers of History for an additional three years.

The Avalon Foundation of New York City has given the American Historical Association a grant of $29,000 for additional microfilming of the German war documents in Alexandria.

The Ford Foundation has granted the Association $30,000 to complete the microfilming of the German documents.

Mr. Frank Altschul of New York City has donated $5,000 to the Association for the microfilming of certain German documents in Berlin.

The Committee on Graduate Education in History is seeking all the information and comment it can obtain. The Chairman of the Committee, Professor Dexter Perkins, 316 Oxford Street, Rochester, New York, and the director of the study, Professor John L. Snell, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana, will be happy to receive from historians any comments they may have on present graduate education in history and future possibilities.

The *Index to the Writings on American History, 1902–1940,* has had a second small reprinting. Beginning September 1 the volume will be available to members and nonmembers at $7.50 per copy.

Libraries and Archives

The Library of Congress has received the papers of Morrison Remick Waite, Chief Justice of the United States from 1874 to 1888, through the generosity of his grandson Morison R. Waite. Composed of some twenty thousand items, the papers include correspondence and legal and financial materials spanning the years 1858–1888, with the preponderance relating to the period of his service in the Supreme Court. Of particular interest to students of constitutional history will be the twenty-one volumes of the Chief Justice's docket books, three volumes of letterbooks (1875–1881), and numerous Court assignment sheets and manuscript opinions. The correspondence is concerned with family, social, and civic affairs,

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as well as with political matters and with the Supreme Court. A register of the Waite papers is to be published soon.

The papers of Elmer H. Davis, late government official, broadcaster, and author, have been presented to the Library by Mrs. Davis. About half of the approximately 7,800 items are original scripts of broadcasts delivered by Mr. Davis between 1940 and 1955. There is correspondence dating from 1893 to 1957 which is rich in letters by persons prominent in political and literary circles and in other fields. Also included are manuscripts reflecting the years Mr. Davis served as director of the Office of War Information (1942–1945) and materials touching on his work as journalist and author. To the latter will be added the original manuscript of *But We Were Born Free* (1954), which he himself gave to the Library in 1958. At the present time the Davis papers are not available for consultation.

A collection of Decatur House papers pertaining to Edward Fitzgerald Beale (1822–1893) to his son Truxtun Beale (1856–1936) and to members of their families has been received as a gift from the National Trust for Historic Preservation. The elder Beale, famous for his exploits in the West and the first to bring news of California's gold strike to the East, was an intimate of the most prominent figures in American public life. Truxtun Beale, named for his famous grandfather Commodore Thomas Truxtun, became a diplomat and served as minister to Persia, Greece, and Roumania. The correspondence, numbering about two thousand items, is derived in almost equal portions from the papers of the two men. The more interesting and historically important are letters written to Edward Beale by Thomas Hart Benton and by the latter's daughter and son-in-law, Jessie and John C. Frémont. The collection also includes two of his journals, kept in 1853 and 1858–1859, diplomatic correspondence of the younger Beale, and originals and transcripts of manuscripts written in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries by Commodore Stephen Decatur and Commodore Thomas Truxtun.

The National Archives has recently accessioned a subject file of the Division of Geography, Bureau of the Census, 1870–1950, and correspondence of officials and other records of the Bureau during the period 1900–1956; irrigation and drainage records of the Soil Conservation Service and its predecessors, including some early correspondence of the Bureau of Public Roads, 1898–1952; records of the governor, government secretary, lieutenant governor, and other officials of the government of the Virgin Islands of the United States, 1917–1949; records of the Forest Service, consisting of deeds, judgments, and the Attorney General's opinions pertaining to land acquired by the United States for national forest purposes, 1951–1957; and over 45,000 photographs made or collected by the Army Ordnance Corps at Aberdeen Proving Ground, showing United States Army ordnance, 1917–1941.

Preliminary inventories recently issued by the National Archives are no. 112,

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Records of the Commodity Exchange Authority; no. 113, *Records of the House of Representatives;* no. 114, *Records of the Bureaus of the Third and Fourth Assistant Postmasters General, the Bureau of Accounts, and the Bureau of the Chief Inspector of the Post Office Department;* and no. 115, *Records of the Foreign Broadcast Intelligence Service.* The two-volume inventory of the House of Representatives records covers seventy-nine Congresses and contains a 137-page subject index.

Among recently issued National Archives Microfilm Publications are Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs from the Central (sixteen rolls) and Michigan (nine rolls) Superintendencies, and from three additional agencies (twenty-five rolls); Population Schedules of the 1820 Census for the States of Tennessee (four rolls) and Virginia (fourteen rolls); Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at Baltimore, 1820–1887 (forty-three rolls); Letters Received by the Secretary of the Navy from Officers below the Rank of Commander, 1881–1884 (eighteen rolls); Domestic Letters of the Department of State, 1861–1866 (nine rolls); and the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, 1861–1865 (128 rolls).

Two additional guides to German records microfilmed at Alexandria, Virginia, have also been published: no. 8, *Miscellaneous German Records Collection* (Part II), a collection that consists of material on economic subjects; and no. 9, *Records of Private German Individuals,* among whom are Dr. Walter Luetgebrune, Dr. Theo Morell, and General Karl Haushofer. The microfilm may be consulted at the National Archives, and copies are available for purchase. The guides were prepared by the American Historical Association's Committee for the Study of War Documents.

Additional information about the microfilm and copies of the publications may be obtained from the Exhibits and Publications Branch, the National Archives, Washington 25, D. C.

At its June 24 meeting, the National Historical Publications Commission noted with approval the publication last year of the 1956 and 1958 volumes of the *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States,* and recommended to the Administrator of General Services that as circumstances permit the National Archives and Records Service extend the series backward to cover President Truman's administration.

Secretary of State John Foster Dulles presented his personal papers for the period of his association with President Eisenhower to the Administrator of General Services, to be housed in the projected Eisenhower Presidential Archival Library. Plans for the building are being prepared so that ground can be broken and construction begun on October 13 of this year and so that when the President leaves the White House his papers can be transferred directly to Abilene. The National Archives and Records Service will have the responsibility for administering the Library when it is turned over to the government.

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The John Foster Dulles Library of Diplomatic History will be established at Princeton University as a tribute to the former Secretary of State. The Library will house his personal diplomatic papers as well as microfilm copies of official State Department documents. Policy concerning use of the papers will be governed by a statement of Mr. Dulles: "Access to my personal papers, for the purposes of bona fide research in the fields of history, political science, international relations or related subjects, shall be granted as widely as possible. The presumption shall be that access should be granted in any particular instance unless compelling reasons exist . . . to withhold such access."

Stanford University has acquired the private papers and books of the late Bernard DeVoto. The collection, totaling some forty thousand items, reflects in large part DeVoto's important contributions to the American historical, literary, and political scene.

Meetings

The one hundredth anniversary of the death of Alexis de Tocqueville was commemorated by a meeting on April 13 and 14 arranged by six Catholic colleges in the Philadelphia area. About thirty speakers participated in the scholarly sessions and discussions.

The thirty-fourth annual meeting of the Mediaeval Academy of America was held at the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies in Toronto on April 18, 1959. The following officers were elected: first vice-president, S. Harrison Thomson, University of Colorado; councilors, Harry Bober, New York University, Quirinus Breen, University of Oregon, Curt F. Bühler, Pierpont Morgan Library, and Richard W. Emery, Queens College.

The next Southern Historical Association meeting will be held at the Biltmore Hotel, Atlanta, Georgia, November 12–14.

The Society for French Historical Studies and the Société d'histoire moderne are organizing a three-day colloquium to be held in Paris, July 1–3, 1960. Speakers on the program will include Jean Baptiste Duroselle, Jacques Godechot, Robert Palmer, René Rémond, Durand Echeverria, Claude Fohlen, Lynn M. Case, Carl Lokke, and Pierre Renouvin. Further information on the meeting may be obtained from Professor Beatrice F. Hyslop, Hunter College, 695 Park Avenue, New York 21, New York.

The Bureau of the International Committee of Historical Sciences and the Swedish National Committee for Historical Studies have sent the American Historical Association preliminary circulars for the Eleventh International Congress of Historical Sciences to be held in Stockholm, August 21–28, 1960. Interested historians may obtain the circular by writing to the Association.

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Grants, Awards, Prizes

The Social Science Research Council has announced the following fellowship awards in history: *Faculty Research Fellowships*—Howard R. Lamar and Eugen J. Weber. *Grants-in-Aid of Research*—Walter J. Brunhumer, John F. Cady, Wayne S. Cole, Richard Herr, Leo A. Loubère, M. Jay Luvaas, Arthur Mann, Lawrence D. Reddick, James H. Shideler, Irwin Unger, Robin W. Winks. *Faculty Research Grants*—Francis Paul Prucha, S.J., W. Stitt Robinson, William Samolin, Richard W. Solberg, George B. Tindall, Dorothy Ann Williams. *Grants for Asian Studies*—Paul S. Dull, John A. Harrison, Donald F. Lach, James T. C. Liu.

The Council's fellowship and grant programs for the coming year embody some departures from previous policies and procedures. Prospective applicants are urged to consult the detailed announcement, which will be furnished on request after September 1, 1959. Some deadlines will be earlier than in past years. Preliminary inquiries should be addressed to 230 Park Avenue, New York 17, New York, at least three weeks in advance of any deadline.

Predoctoral and postdoctoral research training fellowships will again be offered without restriction as to disciplinary specialty within the field of the social sciences.

Grants-in-aid of research and faculty research fellowships will be offered to mature research scholars of all ages; they are not available to candidates for academic degrees. The terms of faculty research fellowships have been radically changed: awards will be made directly to individuals for periods not exceeding two years; part-time appointments for three-year periods will not be offered.

Several categories of specialized awards will also be offered. As a rule applicants eligible to apply for one of these may not be considered as candidates for support for the same purpose under the unspecialized programs mentioned above. The special categories, which are restricted to mature research scholars of postdoctoral status, include: grants for research on the Near and Middle East; travel grants for participants in the International Congress of Americanists, the International Congress of Economic History, and the International Congress of Historical Sciences, Stockholm; grants for research on Latin America and on Slavic and East European areas (administered by the Social Science Research Council with the cosponsorship of the American Council of Learned Societies); grants for research on East and South Asia (administered by the American Council of Learned Societies with the cosponsorship of the Social Science Research Council).

The Rockefeller Foundation has awarded Moshe Perlmann a grant for research on the early history of the Zionist movement and Charles H. Heimsath one for research on social reform and nationalism in India.

The American Council of Learned Societies has announced Grants-in-Aid to Warren O. Ault, Norman F. Cantor, Tom B. Jones, Richard W. Lyman, Arthur J. May, and Merze Tate.

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The Council, 345 East 46th Street, New York 17, New York, is exploring the possibility of expanding the present agreement on cultural, technical, and educational exchange between the United States and the Soviet Union. The President of the ACLS, Frederick Burkhardt, welcomes communications from mature scholars in any of the disciplines included in the ACLS who would be interested in carrying on research in the Soviet Union.

Among the scholars receiving John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation fellowships for historical work in 1959–1960 are: George Georgiades Arnakis, Stephen Baxter, Elias J. Bickerman, Richard Davenport Birdsall, William James Bouwsma, Gerald Mortimer Capers, Lionel Casson, Noble E. Cunningham, Jr., Mark Hubert Curtis, Lloyd William Daly, Horton Marlais Davies, Alexander DeConde, Donald Jefferson Dewey, Sterling Dow, Richard Wilder Emery, John King Fairbank, Don E. Fehrenbacher, Leo Gershoy, Nahum Norbert Glatzer, Dewey Wesley Grantham, Jr., Leopold Henry Haimson, Margaret Hastings, Richard Herr, Morton Keller, Maurice duP. Lee, Jr., Victor S. Mamatey, Horace Samuel Merrill, Chase Curran Mooney, Eugene Franklin Rice, Jr., Charles Pierce Roland, George Thomas Romani, Herbert Harvey Rowen, Robert Edwin Schofield, Philip Van Doren Stern, Marc Moise Szeftel, Doris Mae Taylor, Lily Ross Taylor, Robert Kiefer Webb, Reynold Millard Wik, Oscar Osburn Winther, John Baptist Wolf, C. Vann Woodward.

The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has given grants or research fellowships in the field of medical history to Saul Jarcho, Genevieve Miller, Francisco Guerra, Hebbel E. Hoff, Ariel Bar-Sela, Esmond R. Long, Eric Carlson, Gregory Zilboorg, George Mora, Gerald Gruman, Iago Galdston, Patricia Spain Ward, Theodore Jurgen Spahn, E. Alan Richardson, Charles E. Rosenberg, Allen Debus, and Richard Grant.

Further information on research grants in the history of medicine may be obtained from Dr. Jeanne Brand, Medical Research Program Specialist, National Institute of Mental Health, Bethesda, Maryland.

Those interested in obtaining information on research fellowships may write to Dr. Stephen P. Hatchett, Acting Chief, Research Fellowships Review Branch, Division of Research Grants, National Institutes of Health, Bethesda, Maryland.

The Mississippi Valley Historical Association has presented its first annual American history award of one thousand dollars to Donald F. Warner, Wisconsin State College, for his manuscript "The Idea of Continental Union: Agitation for the Annexation of Canada to the United States, 1849–1893." The work will be published early in 1960 by the University of Kentucky Press.

Jackson Turner Main, San Jose State College, has been awarded the Institute of Early American History and Culture Manuscript Prize of five hundred dollars. Lynn W. Turner, Otterbein College, Westerville, Ohio, received honorable mention. Both their manuscripts will be published by the Institute.

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Rena Vassar of Indiana University has received a fellowship from the Fund for the Advancement of Education to work at Harvard University on the history of American education.

W. Stanford Reid, McGill University, has been awarded a Nuffield Travel Grant and a Canada Council Grant for research in Britain.

The American Studies Association, with funds from the Asia Foundation, will offer travel grants, not to exceed two hundred dollars, to outstanding scholars from Asia who wish to attend the American Historical Association meeting in Chicago, December 28–30, 1959. Details may be obtained from Hennig Cohen, American Studies Association, Box 46, College Hall, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 4, Pennsylvania.

The Ford Foundation will again offer fellowship awards for scholarly training related to Asia, the Near East, the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and Africa. For 1959 it announced 181 such awards. Applications for the 1960–1961 academic year should reach the Secretary, Ford Foundation, Foreign Area Training Fellowships, 477 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York, by November 1, 1959.

Competition is now open for the Bancroft Prizes. Two annual awards of three thousand dollars each are given to the authors of the best works in American history in its broadest sense, American diplomacy, or American international relations. The 1960 awards will be for books published in 1959. Communications regarding the Prizes may be sent to the Secretary of Columbia University, New York 27, New York.

The Society of American Historians announces the Francis Parkman Prize of five hundred dollars for a book published in 1959 in the field of American history. Further information may be obtained from Rudolf A. Clemen, The Society of American Historians, Inc., Princeton University Library, Princeton, New Jersey.

The Conference on British Studies has established a prize of three hundred dollars to be awarded every three years for a book on British history by an American or Canadian. Sidney Painter, Johns Hopkins University, is chairman of the prize committee.

The Loyola University history department has established an annual William P. Lyons Master's Essay Award. Competition is open to those receiving M.A. degrees during 1959–1960. The best essay submitted in manuscript form before July 15, 1960, will be published by Loyola University Press. Further details may be obtained from Professor Edward T. Gargan, Department of History, Loyola University, 6525 Sheridan Road, Chicago 26, Illinois.

Publications

The new editor of the forthcoming *Papers of John C. Calhoun* is W. Edwin Hemphill. He succeeds Robert Lee Meriwether, who died in August 1958. Vol-

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ume I of the *Papers,* which was edited by Dr. Meriwether, will be published by the University of South Carolina Press.

The Burke Newsletter will appear beginning with the summer number of *Modern Age.* The first issue of this quarterly within a quarterly will consist of a summary of the conference on Edmund Burke held at the Modern Language of America meeting in December 1958.

Other Historical News

Micro Methods, Ltd., 17 Denbigh Street, London, S.W. 1, has a project under way for micropublishing material in Great Britain and Ireland on American history. This will include British university dissertations, emigrant guides and pamphlets, and British archival documents.

Personal

Appointments and Staff Changes[1]

University of Akron: Edgar A. Toppin of Fayetteville State Teachers College appointed assistant professor. *University of Alabama:* Bernerd C. Weber promoted to professor, John S. Pancake to associate professor; David B. McElroy of the Citadel appointed assistant professor; James B. Sellers retired. *University of Alberta:* Frederick G. Heymann of the State University of Iowa appointed associate professor. *American Association for State and Local History:* Clement M. Silvestro appointed executive director. *Arizona State University:* Paul G. Hubbard promoted to professor and named acting chairman of the department; John A. de Jong of the State University of Iowa, George E. Paulsen of Ohio State University, and William W. Wooten of the University of Minnesota appointed instructors; Robert W. Coonrod on leave to the University of Michigan. *Boston University:* George O. Totten appointed assistant professor. *Bronx Community College:* Mark D. Hirsch appointed associate professor and named acting head of the social studies department. *University of Buffalo:* Julian Park named professor emeritus of history and international relations; Selig Adler named Samuel Paul Capen Professor of American History; Karel Hulička appointed assistant professor. *University of California* (Berkeley): W. Sheridan Warrick named assistant dean of men. *University of California* (Davis): W. Turrentine Jackson named chairman of the department; Philip J. Staudenraus of the University of Kansas City appointed assistant professor; Hugh Ross appointed to the staff for 1959–60.

California Institute of Technology: Cushing Strout of Yale University appointed associate professor. *Central College* (Pella, Iowa): Arend D. Lubbers of Wittenberg College named vice-president. *University of Chicago:* A. L. Burt of the University of Minnesota appointed visiting professor for 1959–60; Heinz

[1] The *Review* prints news of appointments, promotions, retirements, and leaves of absence. It does not print news of summer session appointments, completed temporary appointments, or honorary degrees and citations.

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Martin Lubasz of Lafayette College appointed assistant professor. *Colorado State University:* Norman F. Furniss named chairman of the department; Bruce B. Frye promoted to associate professor; Harry Rosenberg and Charles J. Bayard appointed assistant professors. *Columbia College* (Columbia, South Carolina): Wesley M. Gewehr of the University of Maryland appointed John Hay Whitney Distinguished Visiting Professor. *Columbia University:* John A. Garraty of Michigan State University appointed professor. *Davidson College:* Malcolm Lester of Mercer University appointed professor. *DePauw University:* John J. Baughman, Clifton J. Phillips, and Dwight L. Ling promoted to associate professors. *University of Detroit:* Herman J. Muller, S.J., named head of the department. *East Tennessee State College:* Harold H. Dugger promoted to professor, Morton A. Brown to associate professor. *East Texas State College:* Martin W. Kilcoyne of Montana State University, Robert L. Bidwell of Mexico City College, and Roy A. Rauschenberg of the University of Illinois appointed instructors. *University of Florida:* Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., granted year's leave of absence. *Gettysburg College:* Robert L. Bloom appointed professor and named chairman of the department. *Hobart and William Smith Colleges:* Lawrence O. Ealy appointed provost and professor. *University of Houston:* Walter P. Webb of the University of Texas appointed M. D. Anderson Professor; Allen J. Going named chairman of the department; Robert V. Haynes promoted to assistant professor. *Humboldt State College:* Stanley S. Spaid resumes chairmanship of the division of social science, succeeding Archie H. Jones, who has accepted the position as assistant director of the Chicago Historical Society; Ralph J. Roske promoted to associate professor; John Gimbel of Luther College appointed assistant professor.

University of Idaho: Robert D. Harris appointed instructor. *University of Illinois:* Deno J. Geanakoplos promoted to professor and J. Leonard Bates to associate professor; Robert W. Johannsen of the University of Kansas and Maurice Lee, Jr., of Princeton University appointed associate professors; Walter T. Luczynski appointed instructor. *Indiana University:* Robert F. Byrnes named director of the Russian and East European Institute; Maurice Baxter promoted to associate professor, John Wiltz to instructor; David Djaparidze of the Sorbonne appointed visiting professor and acting curator of the Slavic collection of the university library; H. Trevor Colbourn of Pennsylvania State University, Edward Grant of Harvard University, and Gerald Strauss of the University of Alabama appointed assistant professors; Michael Wolff appointed instructor in history and English; John Thompson appointed lecturer. *Kansas State University:* Philip M. Rice named head of the department; Werner H. Barth and Homer E. Socolofsky promoted to associate professors; Charles N. Glaab appointed assistant professor. *Lees Junior College* (Jackson, Kentucky): Erwin F. Karner appointed to the staff. *Lincoln Memorial University:* Wayne C. Temple named acting chairman of the department. *Long Beach State College:* Nicholas P. Hardeman and Theodore E. Nichols promoted to associate professors; Irwin Unger of the University

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of Puerto Rico and Eugene L. Asher of the University of Wichita appointed assistant professors. *University of Maryland:* Paul K. Conkin of Southwestern Louisiana Institute appointed assistant professor, Frank O. Gatell, instructor.

University of Nebraska: E. David Cronon of Yale University appointed associate professor. *Nebraska State Teachers College* (Wayne): Karl W. Meyer named dean of instruction. *New York University:* Arthur P. Mendel appointed associate professor. *Northwestern University:* Clarence L. Ver Steeg promoted to professor and granted leave for 1959–60 to teach at Harvard University; Roger F. Hackett promoted to associate professor; Alfred J. Rieber appointed assistant professor, Warren I. Susman and J. Patrick White appointed visiting assistant professors for 1959–60; David S. Lovejoy and Ira A. Glazier appointed lecturers for 1959–60; Ray A. Billington and George T. Romani on leave for 1959–60. *Packer Collegiate Institute* (Brooklyn, New York): Lida R. Brandt retired after thirty-six years on the staff. *Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn:* Helmut Gruber appointed assistant professor. *Portland State College* (Oregon): Basil Dmytryshyn and Charles White promoted to associate professors; Caesar Farah and Charles A. LeGuin appointed assistant professors and Victor C. Dahl, instructor. *Princeton University:* David Donald of Columbia University appointed professor and named Harmsworth Professor, Oxford University, 1959–60. *Purdue University:* John F. Stover promoted to professor. *RAND Corporation* (Santa Monica, California): Vaughn Davis Bornet appointed to research staff. *Rice Institute:* William H. Nelson promoted to associate professor; Louis Galambos of Yale University appointed assistant professor and granted a leave of absence for 1959–60; David Ogg of Oxford University appointed visiting professor for 1959–60.

San Fernando Valley State College: Vern L. Bullough appointed assistant professor. *San Jose State College:* Edgar A. Hornig and Jackson T. Main promoted to professors and Edgar Anderson, Gladys Waldron Gilmore, Donald E. Walters, and Gerald E. Wheeler to associate professors; Ted C. Hinckley, Walter E. Hugins, Michael L. M. Kay, Robert R. Roberts, and Rolland C. Rogers appointed assistant professors. *Southern Illinois University:* Gunther Rothenberg promoted to assistant professor; Ping-Chia Kuo appointed associate professor. *Temple University:* Harry M. Tinkcom promoted to professor, Edwin B. Bronner to associate professor, and Edward R. Baron to assistant professor; Patricia Johnson of the University of Rochester, R. William Rauch of Columbia University, and John D. Stark of Duke University appointed instructors for 1959–60; Clement G. Motten granted leave for 1959–60. *University of Texas:* John Hugh Hill appointed professor for 1959–60. *Wake Forest College:* David Smiley appointed associate professor. *Washington and Lee University:* Fred C. Cole, vice-president of Tulane University, named president.

Westminster College (Salt Lake City, Utah): Orval T. Driggs, Jr., promoted to associate professor and named head of the department. *College of William and Mary:* Harold L. Fowler named head of the department to replace

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Richard L. Morton, who has retired after forty years of service; Peter Czap appointed assistant professor. *Williams College:* Orville T. Murphy, Charles G. Nauert, and John G. Sproat promoted to assistant professors; William R. Stanton appointed assistant professor and granted leave for 1959–60; Dudley Bahlman of Yale University appointed assistant professor, John M. Hyde of Harvard University and Robert O. Collins of Yale University, instructors. *University of Wisconsin:* Leon Litwack promoted to assistant professor; Thomas Hammond of the University of Virginia and James H. Shideler of the University of California, Davis, appointed visiting associate professors for 1959–60, Loren Baritz of Wesleyan University, visiting lecturer for the first semester, 1959–60; Selig Perlman has retired; Irvin G. Wyllie, David A. Shannon, Michael B. Petrovich, and Gaines Post on leave for 1959–60.

University of Wisconsin (Milwaukee): Reginald Horsman and Kermit E. McKenzie promoted to assistant professors; Charles Vevier appointed associate professor, John W. Pratt, instructor. *State Historical Society of Wisconsin:* Leslie Fishel named director. *Yale University:* Hajo Holborn promoted to Sterling Professor of History, Howard R. Lamar to associate professor, William R. Emerson, William H. Goetzmann, and Charles Garside, Jr., to assistant professors; Robert Middlekauff and Francis Oakley appointed instructors.

Recent Deaths

Sinclair Wallace Armstrong died on March 20, 1959, a few days in advance of his sixty-second birthday. From 1923 to 1928 he taught at St. George's School at Newport. In the latter year he began graduate work in history at the University of Wisconsin, from which he received his Ph.D. in 1935. Appointed to an instructorship in history at Brown University in 1930, he became an assistant professor in 1935, an associate professor in 1946, and a full professor in 1949. While on leave from Brown, he spent the years 1941–1945 in Washington, London, and Germany, first with the Office of Strategic Services, later with the Office of Military Government. In the latter organization he participated in "Operation Goldcup," which led to the recovery of a mass of German records and documents. Sinclair was a singularly successful teacher. In the classroom he displayed a rare skill in communicating to others something of his own deep concern over the world around him. To his students he gave unsparingly of his time and energy; and no appeal to him for aid or counsel was ever unanswered. His enduring monument is the respect and affection of several generations of college undergraduates.

Richard Blaine McCornack, professor of history at Dartmouth College, died on May 14 in Hanover, New Hampshire. Born in Chicago, Illinois, on July 19, 1919, Dr. McCornack received his B.A. degree from Dartmouth and his Ph.D. from Harvard. He joined the Dartmouth history department in 1947 and remained at Dartmouth until his death, with the exception of the years 1951–1953,

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when he served with the Department of State, working particularly in the Division of Historical Policy Research for the American Republics. An expert in Latin American history with a special interest in Mexico, Dr. McCornack had published numerous articles and reviews.

Thomas I. Parkinson, a trustee of the Association from 1931 to 1957, died June 17, 1959.

Max L. Shipley, professor of history at Texas Woman's University, died in Denton, Texas, June 29, 1959. Dr. Shipley was chairman of the department of history and government and dean of the College of Arts and Sciences.

Wayne Edson Stevens, professor of history at Dartmouth College, died on July 20 in Hanover, New Hampshire, after a long illness. Born on July 24, 1892, in Avon, Illinois, Dr. Stevens received his B.A. degree from Knox College, where he was admitted to Phi Beta Kappa. His M.A. and Ph.D. degrees were earned at the University of Illinois. He taught at the University of Minnesota and then served as a first lieutenant in World War I. For several years after the war he did professional work with war records for the state of Illinois and with the United States Army. In 1921 he joined the history department at Dartmouth, where he remained until his death. Besides editing the *History of the 151st Field Artillery, Rainbow Division* (1924), Professor Stevens published an authoritative account of *The Northwest Fur Trade, 1763–1800* (1928) and contributed articles to the *Encyclopædia Britannica* and the *Dictionary of American Biography*. At Dartmouth, in addition to long-time teaching in the survey courses, Professor Stevens expressed his special interests in courses in the First and Second World Wars, colonial and revolutionary America, and the history of Canada.

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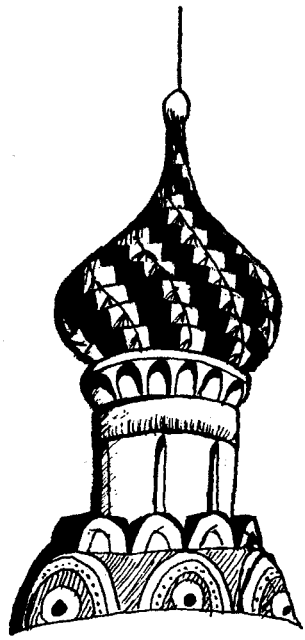
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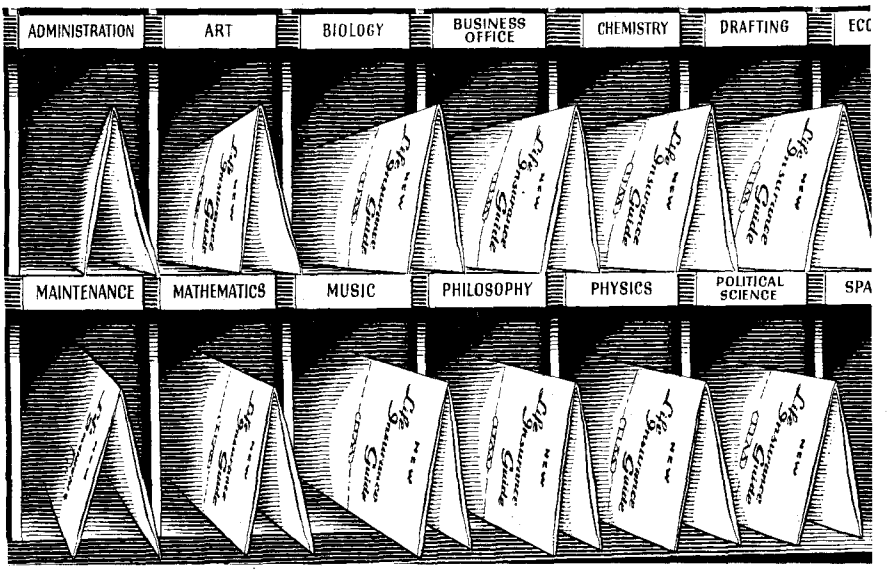
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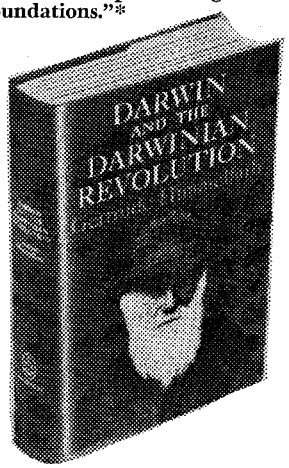
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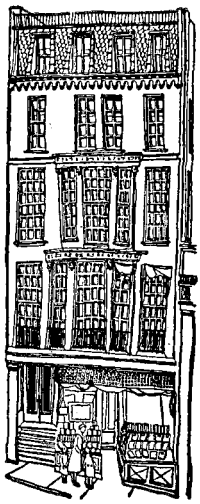
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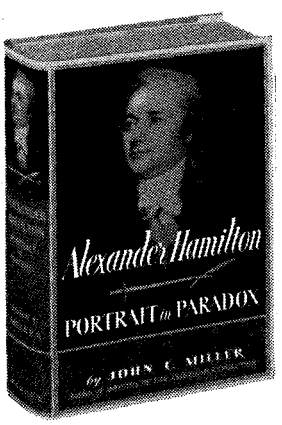
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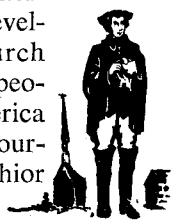
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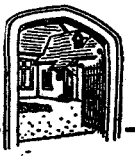
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